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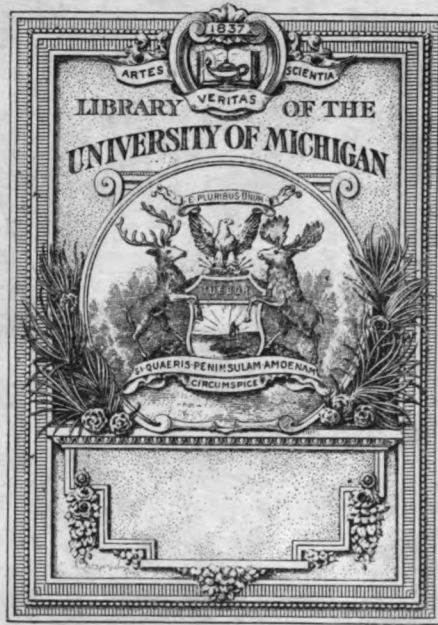
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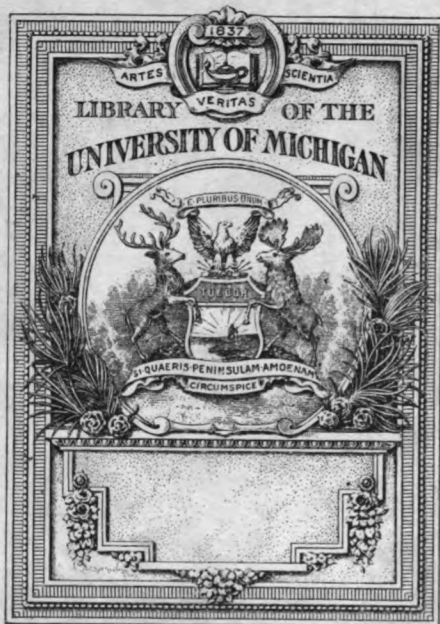


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VOLUME XV

OCTOBER, 1898

NUMBER 1

MATERIAL FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
GRAMMAR OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

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This article does not note and compare all the peculiarities of the language of the book of Job *in extenso*, it merely desires to gather material for the construction of a grammar of this book. Nor has the author discussed the question whether the highly cultured author of Job endeavored to enrich the Hebrew language (Cheyne), or whether he was influenced by his surroundings, the borderland of the desert. A comparison of Job with the Proverbs of Agur and Lemuel (see H. F. Muhlau, *De Proverb. quæ dicuntur Aguri et Lemuelis origine atque indole*) would have been most interesting, but would have enlarged the task; the author has occasionally quoted from the book of Proverbs, in order to show that Job and Proverbs often agree in the peculiar meaning of their vocabulary. At the close of the article will be found an index of the ἀπαξ γερραμμένα, the Aramaisms and the Arabisms of each chapter, which may be of service to scholars who desire to compare, for instance, the language of the Elihu speeches with the language of the other portions of Job.² Our

¹The author of this article feels greatly indebted to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt, of the University of Chicago, who, during the absence of the writer from this country, carefully perused the article, adding much valuable material and references, that have become part of the article, thus enhancing its value. In addition to the material and the references incorporated into the body of the article, a few more are printed in brackets, mainly because the author does not quite agree with their contents.

²[See Budde, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob*, 1876, Part II.—W. M.-A.]

subject has been divided, for convenience sake, into three parts: (1) Ἀπαξ γεγραμμένα, (2) Aramaisms, and (3) Arabisms. The list of about 180 ἀπ. γεγρ. is, we hope, fairly complete, whilst the list of Aramaisms and Arabisms is, to be sure, incomplete and in many instances uncertain. The author regrets not to have been able to procure an article written by Bernstein on the Aramaisms of Job, published in Keil and Tzschirner's *Analekten*, Leipzig, 1813 (an article quoted by Dillmann in his *Job*). It is to be regretted that Kautzsch in his *Aramäische Grammatik* entirely ignores the book of Job. The grammar of Gesenius, like the commentary of Franz Delitzsch, endeavors to throw light upon the language of Job, whilst Stade develops the original forms of Hebrew words. These three authors have been constantly consulted. Barth, *Beiträge z. Job*, would have been a great aid, had the author been able to secure the treatise before his collection of Arabisms and Aramaisms was completed. To him the author owes פִּרְשׁ; he also notes צִירִים for צִירֹת as a peculiarity of Job 28:10. The LXX has been quoted, but not regularly. The Massoretic text has not been emended on the basis of LXX, because the translator of Job in LXX was not equal to his task (Delitzsch, *Job*, p. 28).³

I. The Ἀπαξ γεγραμμένα.

אֲבָה (9:26) = "cane." אֲנִיֹּת אֲבָה "light cane ships." Cf. פְּלִי גִמָּא Isa. 18:2. Dillon: "papyrus boats." Olsh.⁴ emends: אֲבָהָ "flying ships." Syriac read אֲבָהָ or אֲבָהָ "ships of freebooters." Olsh.'s emendation is unnecessary, and the Syriac version incorrect. Compare أَبَا = "cane" and the Assyr. abu and apu = "cane." On אֲבָה see Frd. Del., *Prolegomena*, p. 110.

³ The main books consulted were the lexicons of Gesenius (*Thesaurus*; *Hand-Wörterbuch*, 11th and 12th editions), Levy (*Chald. Wörterbuch*), and Siegfried-Stade; — the commentaries of Franz Delitzsch, Dillmann, Ewald, Cheyne, Merx (*Das Gedicht von Hiob*), Budde (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1896), and Duhm (*Das Buch Hiob*, 1897); — translations: Hoffmann (*Hiob*, 1891); — texts: Siegfried-Brünnow (Polychrome edition), Baer-Delitzsch; — grammars: Ewald, Olshausen, Gesenius (23d ed.), Stade, Strack, Bickell, Kautzsch (Aramaic), Wright (Arabic), etc. Other works consulted: Dietrich, *Abhandlungen*; Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*; Mühlau (see above); Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*; Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*; Hommel, *Säugethiere*; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, etc. A number of the above books came to hand after this article was drafted; often the author's views were simply corroborated, but he claims neither originality nor priority; he only hopes to have helped toward the understanding of that grand old poem, Job.

⁴ These are the main abbreviations used in the article: LXX = Septuagint text; V. = Vulgate; Olsh. = Olshausen; Ew. = Ewald; Frz. Del. = Franz Delitzsch; Siegf.-Br. = Siegfried-Brünnow; Ges.¹¹ = eleventh edition of the *Handwörterbuch* of Gesenius.

אֲבִי (34:36) "O that!" an interjection. Siegfr.-Br. emends with LXX $\sigma\upsilon\mu\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ = **אֲבִי**. Olsh., *Gram.*, §§ 224 sq.: **אֲבִי** an interjection, abbreviated **בִּי**, Gen. 43:20 = "please!" Wetzstein (in Frz. Del., *Job*) compares *jā beiy* = "O sorrow!" and *jā abī* = "my father!" which are in Arabic exclamations of pain or desire. Ges.¹¹: **אֲבִי** = 1st pers. sing. impf. of **בִּיא**; Ges.¹², interjection: "O dass doch." Frd. Del., *Prol.*, p. 135, derives **אֲבִי** from **אֲבָה**, as **אִי**, Ezek. 21:15, is derived from **אִירָה**; Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, pp. 48 sqq., arrives at the conclusion that neither the Hebrew **אִי** or **אִירָה** nor the Arabic *a, ahi, wai* and the Assyr. *ē* or *t* have an etymology, they are "ein blosses Ausrufewort, der unmittelbare Ausdruck der Empfindung." **אֲבִי** is a similar interjection, expressing a wish, but not = **אֲבִירִי** (Hoffmann), Prov. 23:29, which, with its dark vowel, is an expression of sorrow like "woe!" Perles, *Analekten*, **אִם** (after Ps. 139:19). Budde, p. 209, strikes out **אֲבִי** as a dittography from **אִירָה**, vs. 35a; Duhm, p. 168, however, retains **אֲבִי** and says "perhaps related to **אֲבִירִי**."

אֲבִירִי (39:26) "to be strong, powerful." **הַמְבִּינָתָהּ יֶאֱבִירֶנָּה יִפְרֹשׁ כְּנָפָיו** (**כְּנָפָיו** *Kere* לְחִימָן) "Doth by thy wisdom the hawk soar and spread his wings to the south?" The Hiph. **יֶאֱבִירֶנָּה** is a denominative from **אֲבִיר** "wing" (Budde), fem. **אֲבִירָה**, Job 39:19. Schwally, *Idioticon des christl. Paläst. Aram.*, derives **אֲבִירָה** from the Arab. **أَبْرَة** "needle, point." The adj. **אֲבִיר** "strong" is frequently found in Hebrew, Assyr. *abāru* = "strong," but the use of **אֲבִיר** denominatively in the sense of "to move the wing, to soar," is peculiar to this passage of Job.

אֲגָלִים (38:28) "drops or gatherings." **הֲיֵשׁ לְמָטָר אָב אוֹ מִי־הוֹלִיד אֲגָלִים** "Is there to the rain a father? Or who hath begotten the gatherings of dew?" Ges.¹¹ suggests, on account of 38:22, "basin or pond." Hoffmann translates "gatherings" (*Ansammlungen*), i. e., collections, stores, reserve supplies, and compares (*Hiob*, 86) **אָגֵל** "herd of wild cows or men." Isa. 15:8 we find **אֲגָלִים**, which probably means "border town," as the common meaning of **אָגֵל** is "to keep back, to limit." **אֲגָלִים** may be an Arabism. The parallelism and the verb **הוֹלִיד** in Job 38:28 harmonize better with the translation "drops" than with "pond," as Ges.¹² well suggests. Budde (pp. 231-2): "to be explained from the Arabic." Bickell strikes out the whole vs. 28 as an "unerhört tautologische und prosaische Nachbildung von 29;" so also Duhm, p. 186; but see Budde, *loc. cit.*

אַחֲרָה (13:17) "announcement, declaration." אַחֲרָהּ בְּאָזְנֶיכֶם "my declaration be in your ears." אַחֲרָהּ is formed from the inf. Hiph. of אָחַר after אֶזְכְּרָה (Stade, *Gram.*, § 244); aḥwayā has been contracted to אַחֲרָה, as šānayā to שָׁנָה. "In Hebrew two formations with a prefixed א have been confused. One is the equivalent to the Arabic intensive forms, cf. 'akbaru and kabir, the other is merely the prosthetic *Elif*." (Stade, *Gram.*, § 255.) Stade, § 244, note, thinks אַחֲרָה may belong to the class of nouns formed by prefixed ה. If א stands for ה, then אַחֲרָה would be an Aramaism. Duhm, p. 73, reads with Dillmann, after LXX, וְאַחֲרָה, 32:10, "let me announce, report;" would reject the whole verse with Dillmann and Bickell, against Budde. On אָחַר see the second part of this article.

אִי (22:30) adv. "not." יִמְלִיט אִי-יָנִקִי וְנִמְלִיט בְּבֶר כַּפַּיָּה "he shall deliver the not-innocent, and he shall be delivered through the cleanliness of thy hands." Siegf.-Stade: "Stelle verdächtig, weil sinnlos." Siegf.-Br. emends אִי, following the LXX, ῥύσεται ἀθῶνον. Cheyne (p. 290) also considers אִי a corrupt reading. But Frz. Del., Dillmann, Ew. (*Gram.*, § 215b), Ges. (*Gram.*, § 152, 1), Jensen (*Zeitschrift f. Völkerpsychologie*, 18, 421), and Budde (*Hiob*) correctly consider אִי an abbreviation of אִין or אִין. The Targums use אִי frequently; cf. אִי אִפְשָׁר "impossible;" אִי הִכָּרָה "unnecessary." In Ethiopic אִי is the common negation. In the Assyrian we have *a* (*a-a*) or *ai*, in Hebrew characters אִי, contracted אִי. Perhaps אִי occurs also Prov. 31:4; cf. Mithlau, *De Prov. Aguri origine*, pp. 56 sqq. We certainly have the negation אִי in the proper noun אִי-כָבוֹד "without honor," 1 Sam. 4:21; possibly in אִיזָבֶל "untouched, not honored;" אִיחָמֶר "not conspicuous," Exod. 6:23; אִיעֶזֶר, Num. 26:30, seems to be a corruption for אִבִּיעֶזֶר; cf. Josh. 17:2. Siegf.-Stade's attack on the text is not to the point. In Job 22:30 the promise reaches its height. God shall not only deliver the innocent Job, but even him that is not innocent shall he deliver through the hands of Job. The thought stated here is further on in the book of Job the outcome of the whole issue. Cf. Job 42:8. Budde (p. 128) well says: "In dem Verse muss ausgedrückt sein, Hiob's Gottwohlgefälligkeit werde so hoch steigen, dass um seinetwillen Andre der Strafe ihrer Sünde entrissen werden." In respect to the text of the LXX we concur with Barth, *Beiträge*, who warns against the "überschwängliche Versionencultus" of Merx and others. Bickell strikes out vs. 30b, because it was not found in the original LXX text; see also Duhm, pp. 117-18.

אָכָה (33:7) "pressure, burden." אָכַפִּי עָלַי לֹא־יִכְבֵּד "my burden upon thee shall not be heavy." The LXX read וְכָפִי = ὅτι ἡ χεὶρ μου, a reading accepted by Olsh., Hoffmann, Siegfr., Budde (p. 194), Duhm (p. 157), etc. The verb אָכָה is found Prov. 16:26, "to drive, compel." In the Talmud אֲוִכָה means "the saddle." The parallel passage, Job 13:21, speaks for the LXX translation, but אָכָה may be an intentional change (Dillmann). The burden אָכָה is heavier than the hand כָּה.

אֵלִי (3:22; 5:26; 15:22; 29:19) instead of אֵל. Possibly an Arabism; cf. اَلِي; Bickell, *Grundriss*, § 57; Stade, *Gram.*, § 205b; § 375; Budde, *Beiträge*, 115 sqq.; Job, 16.

אֵלִם (17:10) for אֵלִים. See Budde, *Job*, 90 (אֵלִם, the *dagesh* of the text adopted from the following אֵלִם); Duhm, 94.

אִמְץ (17:9): וְטָהֲרֵי־יָדַיִם יִסִּיתָ אִמְץ "and the clean of hands shall add strength."

אִפּוֹ (17:15; 19:6, 23; 24:25) "now, then." Looks like Aramaic writing for אִפּוֹא, which occurs 9:24, and on which see Budde, 45.

אָרֵב (38:40) "ambush;" 37:8, "place of ambush." The ambush is in Arab. اَرَب; Jer. 9:7 and Hos. 7:6 we find אָרֵב. An Arabism?

בָּאֲשָׁה (31:40) "tares, useless growth." וְחִתְּתָה שְׂעִירָה בָּאֲשָׁה "and instead of barley a stinking weed" (Siegfr.-Stade). Isa. 5:2, 4 בָּאֲשִׁים. The verb בָּאֵשׁ means "to stink," Exod. 7:18, so that בָּאֲשָׁה may be a weed with a repugnant smell; we have בָּאֵשׁ "stink," Am. 4:10, of which form בָּאֲשָׁה may be the Aram. *stat. emphat.*, Kautzsch, *Aram. Gram.*, § 52, 2.

בְּהִיר (37:21) "shining" (Budde, *Beiträge*, 141). וְעִפְזָה לֹא רָאוּ אֹר "And now, not shall they see a light, it is shining in the clouds." The root בְּהִר is not found in Hebrew.

In Aramaic it is בְּהִר, adj. בְּהִירָא "shining." In Arabic بَهَر.

Frz. Del. calls בְּהִיר "a Hebrew-Arabic word." בְּהִיר is very likely an Arabic word. Siegfr. reads בְּהִירָא "da es leuchtet;" Budde (p. 225) suggests corruption from נִסְתָּרָא הוּא or the like. Duhm retains Massor. reading, but suggests transposition of vs. 21a after 21b.

יְשָׁלוּ אֱהָלִים לְשׁוֹדִדִּים וּבִטְחוֹת (12:6) “perfect security.” יְשָׁלוּ לְמַרְדֵּי אֱלֹהִים “the tents of robbers are quiet and to the provokers of God is security.” The form is found, also, Ps. 51:8 and Job 38:36 [Cheyne, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, July, 1898, p. 570, and *Expositor*, August, 1898, pp. 85-6, “טחוח comes from תוחח, and תוחח is a corruption of תרתח”—W. M.-A.] but in the latter passages ב בטחות is evidently a preposition. In our passage בטחות is an abstract plural from בטוח. The verb בטח, as well as בָּטַח, בטחה, and בִּטְחוֹן, occur, but בטחות looks like a new formation, Duhm, 67, “eine junge Abstraktbildung.” On the form cf. Olsh., *Gram.*, § 186a. Siegfr., and Duhm, p. 67, reject vss. 4-6; on the other hand see Budde, p. 59.

נָטָה צִפּוֹן עַל-תְּהוֹמוֹ (26:7) “nothing,” literally “not something.” נָטָה הַצִּפּוֹן עַל פְּלִימָה “He spread the north over emptiness, he hung the earth up over nothing.” פְּלִימָה is composed of פֶּלִי “not” and מָה “something.” In Arabic مَا is used as emphatic enclytic. Compare the Assyr. -ma, which is frequently used as an enclytic. Traces of the indefinite -ma are found in such Hebrew words as סָלָם “scala,” פְּרִיּוֹם (= pldja-ma) “solutio,” אֲמָנָם, חֲנָם. Bickell, *Grundriss*, II, § 78, correctly considers the prefix ma-, e. g., in מְחַמֵּד “desiderium,” as identical with the affix -ma. Professor Morris Jastrow called my attention to the *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, No. 114, p. 109, where Haupt maintains that the enclytic -ma is the same as the interrogative. In Job 31:1 we even find מָה used like the Arab. negation مَا. See the list of Arabisms in the second part of this treatise. On 26:7 see also Budde, *Hiob*, 144-5.

וַיִּשֶׂת עַל-עָפָר בָּצֵר (22:24, 25) “gold and silver ore.” וַיִּשֶׂת עַל-עָפָר בָּצֵר “and lay in the dust gold ore.” The form בָּצֵר is used otherwise in the Old Testament, only as a proper name, unless we read Ps. 68:31, with Cheyne, כֶּסֶף בָּצֵר instead of בָּרָצִי. See also Mesa-Inscr., l. 27, where בָּצֵר is a proper name. בָּצֵר means (1) “to cut off,” therefore בּוֹצֵר “pruner,” בָּצִיר “grape harvesting;” and (2) “to make fast, to fortify;” cf. מְבָצֵר “fortress.” From בָּצֵר “to break off” בָּצֵר “ore” might be used, as תֵּבֶר “gold ore” from תָּבַר “to break off.” Hoffmann, *Zeitschr. für Assy.*, II (1887), 48 sqq., and *Hiob*, 70, compares بَطْرَة “ring,” and translates בָּצֵר “ring,” as gold circulated in

the shape of rings in ancient times. The derivation is plausible.

בַּצִּיר would then be an Arabism. Cf. Ps. 68:31, בַּצִּיר כֶּסֶף.

גְּבִינָה (10:10) "curd, cheese;" cf. Arabic جُبْن "cheese." In Hebrew גָּבֵן means "to be high, thick;" cf. גִּבֵּן "humpbacked," גִּבְנוֹן "peak, rounded summit." The usual Hebrew word for "cheese" is חֲמָאָה, Gen. 18:8.

גְּבִישׁ (28:18) "crystal." רֶאֱמוֹת וְגְבִישׁ לֹא יִזְכָּר "coral(?) and crystal shall not be mentioned." LXX ὑπερημένα; V. eminentia. Ges., *Thes.*, compares جَبَس "congelavit" and the Hebr. אֲלֻפְבִּישׁ probably "hail, stones of ice." Hoffmann, *Phön. Inschr.*, 21, reads אֲבִנֵי אֱלֹהִים "ice-stones of God." Cf. the Assyr. algamišū, name of a stone species, and gabšū, "massive." גְּבִישׁ seems to be a loan word, as so many words denoting products of foreign countries.

גִּישׁ (7:5) "clod of earth." לִבְשִׁי בְּשָׂרִי רִמָּה וְגִישׁ [עָפָר] "my flesh is clothed with worms and clods [of dust]." See Beer-Duhm, p. 41; Budde, 82. גִּישׁ עָפָר signifies, probably, the scab wherewith Job's flesh is covered and which has the color of mud. Ley, Beer, and Duhm consider עָפָר a late gloss to גִּישׁ and strike out the word. Ley, again, drops גִּישׁ. We can only compare with גִּישׁ the proper name גִּישִׁין "the muddy one," 1 Chron. 2:47. This name sounds strange, but Hilprecht called my attention to the equally peculiar Egyptian proper noun "tadpole." We may compare also the Hebrew p. n. שְׂפּוֹפֶס "snake;" אֲבִישׁ גִּ "whose father is an error" = "daughter of a mistake," 1 Kgs. 1:8; אֲחִירֵעַ "brother of noise." Any little incident connected with the birth of a child may have given rise to the fanciful names found among oriental nations.

גֶּלֶד (16:15) "skin," rather "crust." שֵׁן תַּפְרִיתִי עָלַי גֶּלֶדִי וְעַלֹּלְתִי בַּעֲפָר "I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin and my horn has entered into the dust." גֶּלֶד is evidently the disease-covered skin. [See, however, Budde, 85: גֶּלֶד "nur hier, in den Dialekten gebräuchlicher, vielleicht mit verächtlichem Beigeschmack wie unser 'Fell';" Duhm, 88-9: "aus dem Aramäischen oder Arabischen."—W. M.-A.] Del. compares talmudic גֶּלֶד and הַגְלִיד; cf. Arab. جِلْد "skin" and Assyr. gil(a)du (Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, p. 61). גֶּלֶד may be an Arabism or an Aramaism.

גֵּרָד (2:8) "to scratch, scrape." וַיִּקְחֵהוּ חֶרֶשׁ לְהַתְּגֵרָד בּוֹ "and he took to himself a potsherd to scrape himself with it." In Hebrew

we have חרם, הרש, חרת. The change of ח or ת to ד may be dialectical, or an Arabism. Cf. جَرَد "to scrape off," and جَرَد "to be void of verdure, to be naked." Hommel, *Südsem. Säugethiere*, 59, rem. 1.

דָּאֵבָה (41:14) "languishing through fear." The verb דָּאֵב is found Jer. 31:12, 25; Ps. 88:10 = "to languish;" from this the secondary meaning "fear" is derived. Frz. Del. compares דָּאֵב = זָאָב and דָּאֵבָה = דָּוָב "to place in a condition without security." The noun דָּאֵבָה is found Deut. 28:65 = "languishing." The fact that the Arabic has ذَاب would (see Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, Pt. XIII, list iv) point to Aramaic origin of דָּאֵבָה, for the Arab. ذ generally corresponds to the Hebr. ז and Aram. ד.

וְלִפְנֵי הָרֹדֵף (41:14) "and before him flees fear." Compare דָּאֵבָה (41:14) "to jump away," Assy. dāṣu "von Jemand weichen," Del., *Proleg.*, p. 65; LXX τρέχει, probably דָּרֹדֵף. Thus Nöldeke prefers to read (*ZDMG.*, XL, 730). Aram. דָּרֹדֵף "to dance." דָּרֹדֵף, used here ironically, is an Aramaism, Duhm, 250.

דָּעַ (32:6, 10, 17; 36:3; 37:16) inf. of יָדַע for the regular Hebrew דָּעָה and דָּעִת. The form is peculiar to the Elihu speeches and is an Aramaism, Duhm, 190; cf. Dillmann on Job 32:6, and דָּעִת, 34:35, etc.

רֵאָה כָּל־פָּאָה הַכְּבִיעָהּ וְהָדָהּ יִשְׁעִים (40:12) "Behold, all proudness, bow it down, and tear down the wicked."

Cf. הָדָה "to tear down." We agree with Frz. Del. that הָדָה is "Hebrew-Arabic." Budde (241, following Hoffmann) reads הָדָה, inf. Hiph. of דָּהָה, Arab. and Aram. "to destroy," whence is derived the Hebr. הָדָה.

הָרָה (6:2) "ruin," *Kētib* for *Kēre* הָרָה, which occurs in 30:13. An Aramaism. On הָרָה see the list of Aramaisms, in the second part of this treatise. Siegf. reads הָרָה; Duhm, *Hiob*, 25, accepts הָרָה of the *Kēre* and all the other passages and the versions: "destruction," either bodily or moral; on 6:30 see *ibid.*, p. 31. Duhm, p. 36, reads הָרָה.

זֶה עֲשֹׂר פְּעָמִים תְּכַלְמֵנִי לֹא וַיִּבְשׁוּ (19:3) "to be impudent." ר. V.: "These ten times have ye reproached me; ye are

not ashamed to deal hardly with me." LXX: *ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐμὸν*. Siegfr.-Br.: *לִי תִתְּחַבְּרִי* "ye are allied against me." Ges.¹¹ and Frz. Del. compare the Arab. *هك* "stupere" and translate, "ye cause me astonishment," but this Arabic meaning does not suit the connection; we, therefore, prefer Dillmann's translation, "ye show yourself fresh, impudent toward me," which would agree with the LXX and the Arab. *كه* (see Frz. Del., p. 237) or *حك*. Thus also Ew. and Budde, p. 96, where the suggestions of his main predecessors are quoted; also see Duhm, p. 98. Ges., *Gram.*, § 53, 3, note 4, has overlooked *תִּתְּחַבְּרִי*; † appears volatilized here, according to Aramaic usage, as in *וַיִּדְרֹכֵהוּ*, 1 Kgs. 20:33; *וַיִּדְרֹכֵהוּ*, Jer. 9:2; *וַיִּדְרֹכֵהוּ*, 1 Sam. 14:22. The writing *תִּתְּחַבְּרִי* for *תִּתְּחַבְּרִי* is Aramaic, as well as the construction with the object *לִי*. The noun *הַפְּרָה*, Isa. 3:9 = "the looks," does not belong to *דָּכַר*, but to *נָכַר* "recognize." See Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

הַלִּיכִי or *הַלִּיךְ* (29:6). Stade, *Gram.*, p. 12, translates *הַלִּיכִי* "my feet." The word occurs only here.

הַמְּשָׁל (25:2) "dominion." The inf.-abs. is used as a noun in Hebrew; cf. Ges., *Gram.*, § 132. Budde, *Hiob*, 141, where Hoffmann's reading *הַמְּשָׁל* is rejected; also see Duhm, 128.

אִם-לֹא הַחֲלִים עֲמָדִי וּבְהִמְרוֹתָם תֵּלֶן עֵינַי (17:2) "mockeries." "If not! = Surely! Mockery is around me, and upon their disputations my eye shall dwell." Frz. Del. holds that from *הַחֵל* (Hiph.) a secondary root *הַחֵל* has been formed, whence *הַחֲלִים* or *הַחֲלִים* is derived. Thus also Olsh. and Ges.¹¹. Dillmann denies the existence of a Qal of *הַחֵל*. If *הַחֲלִים* is derived from *חָלַל*, then *יִהְיֶה*, 1 Kgs. 18:27, would be an Aramaic Hiphil form. See Ges., *Gram.*, § 53, Anm. 7. Budde, *Hiob*, 88, reads *הַחֲלִים*; see also *ibid.*, p. 65, on 13:9; Duhm, p. 91, "Die LXX scheint etwa *נִפְתָּלִים* zu lesen."

וְהִמְתָּהוּ חַיָּתוֹ לָחֶם וְנִפְשׁוֹ מֵאֵכֶל (33:20) "to be loathsome." *וְהִמְתָּהוּ* "And it maketh loathsome unto him his life (= desire) of bread, and his longing for meat of desire." *וְהִמְתָּהוּ* for *וְהִמְתָּהוּ* perf. Piel. Siegfr.-Br. considers the passage hopelessly corrupt, because the thought "that voracity should cause disgust with food is opposed to all probability." But that idea is not to be found in our passage. Subject is the sickness, the long suffering and endless pain, i. e., *מִכְאוֹב*, vs. 19, or *רִיב*. His sufferings have caused disgust

with food. A sick man does not even relish dainties. Ew., Del., Ges.¹¹⁻¹² correctly take the Piel in the causative sense, "to make loathsome." Cf. **זָעַם** "to be fat, dirty, rancid, loathsome." Aram. Pa'el, **זָהָם** in our passage is an Arabism or Aramaism. Budde, 198: "Subjekt des Satzes kann nur die Krankheit sein. Für **זָהָם** ist deshalb **זָהָם** oder **זָהָם** zu vermuten." Voigt (1895) reads **זָהָם** and considers vs. 20 a gloss of vs. 22. Duhm, 160, perhaps originally **זָהָם**: "sie (die Seele) empfindet Ekel."

לֹא־יִשְׁכַּחֲהוּ זָהָב וְזָכָרִית וְחִמְיָתָהּ כְּלִי פָז: (28:17) "glass."

The dialects, Aram. **זָהָתָא**, Arab. **زجاج**, prove that the author means glass, which in those days was very costly. Fleischer, in Levy's *Chald. Wörterb.*, I, p. 424, gives as the general original meaning of the roots **זָכַ** and **זָכַ** "to puncture," then "to catch the eye," "to shine brightly," "to be without blemish." In Job **זָכַ**, from which **זָכָרִית** or **זָכָרִית** is derived, occurs three times, 15:15; 25:5; 9:30, and also Lam. 4:7. In the Qal it means "to be pure," Hiph. "to cleanse." **זָכַ** and **זָכַ** are found eleven times in the Old Testament, four times in Job, and three times in Proverbs. Its frequent occurrence in these two books, replete with Arabisms and Aramaisms, leads us to consider **זָכָרִית** as an Arabism or Aramaism. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, p. 64, observing that Arab. **زجاج** is written with *a*, *i*, and *u* in the first syllable, and cannot be derived from an Arabic root, concludes that **زجاج** is an Aramaism.

זָכַ (17:1) "to extinguish." **יָמֵי נְעֻכִּי קִבְרִים לִי** "My days are extinguished, graves (are ready) for me." Job 18:5 we find **זָכַ**; **זָכַ** stands for **זָכַ**, as **זָכַ**, 32:6, for **זָכַ** "to be shy." These verbs may be dialectical peculiarities of Job. Duhm, 87, suggests reading **זָכַ** in 17:1, on the basis of many manuscripts; Duhm, 91: **יָמֵי** belongs to the preceding, first, stichos, and he reads **נְעֻכִּי** (cf. Isa. 18:6); also see Siegfr., p. 86. Brown-Gesenius, *Lexicon*, 276: probably error for **נְעֻכִּי**.

בַּיֵּת חֲרָבִי. **צִרַב** (6:17) "to burn, singe," for the common Hebrew **צָרַב** "In the time when they are struck by heat, they are vanished." Fried. Del., *Proleg.*, pp. 36 sq., compares the Syriac **ܙܪܒ** "to hedge in," but Dillmann well maintains that neither the Syriac nor the Arabic **زرب**, nor the Aramaic **זָרַב**, Ithpe'el "to melt," suits the connection; **זָרַב** corresponds to Hebr. **צִרַב** "to burn" and is an

Aramaism. Thus also Hoffmann, p. 44, note 17. Compare *מִצְרֹרֶת* for *מִצְרָרֶת*, Job 38:32. Budde, 28, merely says: "weiche Aussprache für צרב, vgl. צעק und עלץ und עלז."

חב (31:33) "bosom." אִם-כִּפְתִּיתִי כְאָדָם פִּשְׁעִי לְטִמּוֹן בְּחִבִּי עֵינִי "If like Adam I covered my transgressions by hiding in my bosom my iniquity," etc. Cf. Deut. 33:3 חִיבב "to take to the bosom;" Num. 10:29; Judg. 4:11 חִיבב proper name = "the beloved one;" 1 Chron. 7:34 חִבָּה "the beloved one." In Aram. חבב "to love" is common; cf. חִבְבָּא "bosom;" חִיבְתָּא "love;" חִיבִיב "beloved." The verb חבא in Hebrew "to hide," cf. Job 29:8; 24:4, is closely allied to the Aram. חבב. חב is clearly an Aramaism for חִיבִיב. So Siegf. and Stade, *Handwörterbuch*, 181; Budde, 181, 1; Duhm, 151: vs. 33b, not in LXX, is suspicious on account of its syntactical construction (לְטִמּוֹן) and the Aramaic חב; it is probably a gloss to 33a in its present form.

חֶבֶר, pl. חֶבְרִים (40:30) "companion." חֶבֶר stands for the usual Hebr. חֶבֶר, Assyr. *ēbru*. Dan. 2:13; 17:18 we find חֶבֶר. An Aramaism, corresponding in meaning to *μέτοχοι*, Luke 5:7. See also Budde, 247; Duhm, 199.

חֶבְרָה (34:8) "company." Dan. 7:20 חֶבְרָה. Used here in a bad meaning: "company of evil-doers," Budde, *Beiträge*, 134 sq.

חֲדָדִים (41:22) "points." תַּחְתָּיו חֲדָדִי חֲדָשׁ "his underparts are like points of potsherds." חֲדָדִי is an intensive form to חָד, as חֲלֹקֶת to חָלַק. The construction of the adjective with the noun in the construct state is noteworthy. See Ges., *Gram.*, § 112, 1, note 1. The verb חָדַד occurs in Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Habak. 1:8; חָדָה, fem. חֲדָה, Isa. 49:2; Ezek. 5:1; Ps. 57:5; Prov. 5:4. חָדַד is found as a proper name in Gen. 25:15, and חֲדִיד Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37; 11:34, etc. Barth, *Studien*, "etwa 'Egge von Scherben,'" Duhm, 200-201, reads יַחְדָּת for תַּחְתָּיו "there breaks" (1 Kgs. 9:3), translating: "es zerbricht die Schneiden des Schmiedes."

חֹג (26:10) "to circle off." Hoffm., Budde, p. 146, and Duhm, 180, read: חֹק חֹג "a circle has he measured off," instead of חֹק חֹג "a law has he encircled." LXX *ἐγύρῃσεν*; cf. *γῦρος* "circle;" Arab. حَج (see Prov. 8:27).

חֹל (29:18) name of a bird—or "sand"? אָמַר עַם-קִנִּי אֲנֹכִי "Then I said: I shall die in my nest; and as sand or Phoenix I shall multiply days." Frz. Del. endeavors to

prove that the bird Phoenix is meant in this passage; Budde, p. 167, again translates "Phönix." The almost universal tradition favors this rendering. LXX: ὡς περ στῆλεχος φοῖνικος, Hitzig considers as a later correction for φοῖνιξ. Hoffm. (p. 79, note) curtly says: "Mit dem Phönix—ist es nichts" (pronounce "nix"). Merx, in his *Archiv*, II, 104-7, translates: "Like as the sand (cf. Assyr. ḫālu) of the sea I shall increase;" see also Duhm, p. 140.

הִלָּה (6:10) "pain." The verb הָלַךְ "to turn in pain" is quite frequent in Hebrew, but the noun is found only here. Duhm, 37, reads הִלָּץ, because the verb is in the masculine form.

חֵן (41:4) "beauty," Hebrew חֵן עֲרֹפִי "the beauty of his form." Del., Dillm., Ges.², Budde: חֵן for חֵן is rather doubtful. In Aramaic we have חֵנָא and חֵינָא. LXX omits the verse. [Duhm, *Hiob*, 198, reads חֵן, which in its Aramaic meaning fits in here excellently: the hunter praises his practical and comfortable outfit for the expedition.]

חֲלָמוֹת (6:6) "something unsavory or tasteless." חֲלָמוֹת "Or is there taste in the slime of חֲלָמוֹת?" The context proves that it is something whose slime has an unpleasant taste. Ew.: חֲלָמוֹת "white of the egg." Targum: חֲלָמוֹנָא, which Levy translates "yolk of egg." Frz. Del. follows Lane and translates חֲלָמוֹת "portulak" (purslain), a flower so called "because it exudes mucilage, so that it is likened to the أَحْمَق, whose slaver is flowing." Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, No. 120, says: "Not portulak, but anchusa (Ochsenmaul), probably eaten by the poor." Possibly an Aramaism. See Budde, *Hiob*, p. 26; Duhm, *Hiob*, pp. 36-7, considers 6:7b an Aramaic gloss: חֲלָמוֹת "that is called now yolk (das heisst jetzt Eidotter)."

חָמָה (29:6) for חָמָה (20:17) "milk," contracted like חָמָה for חָמָה (22:29; 33:17). The omission of א is rare in Hebrew, but frequently found in Aramaic. An Aramaism. Cf. on this question Part II of this article. Budde's suggestion (p. 164) that the omission of א is merely a scribal blunder may here be noticed.

חֹמֶר (16:16) "red." See Part II of this article; also Stade, *Gram.*, § 111, esp. notes 3 and 4.

חָדָשׁ (33:9) "clean, pure." חָדָשׁ אֲנִי בְלִי-פֶשַׁע חָדָשׁ אֲנִי "I am pure, without sin—I am clean." חָדָשׁ II does not occur in Hebrew; in Arab. حَفَّ means "to make smooth," for instance, by taking the hair off.

Mishna: **רָחַף** "to rub," especially the head; **רָחֵף** "the hair-brusher." **רָחַף** seems to be an Aramaism. Dillm.: "Out of the Aram. **רָחַף** 'to rub.'" Budde (p. 194): "Als Aramaismus anzusprechen." "Why **רָחַף** is written with a small **ח** we know not; the tradition has it that Elihu thereby intimates that he does not consider Job clean" (Budde). [On this difficult point Stade, *ZATW.*, IV, 302-3, and IX, 303; Cornill, *ibid.*, XII, 309—together with a knowledge of Lagarde's views—could throw much light.—W. M.-A.]

וַתִּחַשׁ עַל-מְרִמָּה רַגְלִי (31:5) "and my foot hasteth to deceit," etc. **וַתִּחַשׁ** with its present punctuation cannot be derived from **חָוַשׁ**, as we should then be obliged to change to **וַתִּחַשׁ** (so Budde, p. 172); cf. **וַיִּחַר**, etc.; Olsh., § 257g; Ew. and König, *Gram.*, 508, and Dillmann nevertheless derive it from **חָוַשׁ**, with virtual doubling of the **ח**. Ges., *Gram.*, § 72, note 9, calls attention to the fact that the verbs **עָרַע** and **עָרַר** have in Niph. and Hiph. at times Aramaic formations, with short vowels instead of long ones under the preformatives; thus **וַתִּחַשׁ** with *dag. forte impl.* may be an Aramaism for **וַתִּחַשׁ** from **חָוַשׁ**. Duhm, *Hiob*, p. 146, **וַתִּחַשׁ** "wahrsch. aramäis. Hiph.;" cf. Ges.-Kautzsch²⁶, § 72, A., 9. See Aramaic formations, Part II, C, of this article. Also Franz Delitzsch, who derives the form from a metaplastic formation of **חָוַשׁ** = **חָוַשׁ** (חיש).

בְּטוּמֵי עָנָן לְבָשׁוֹ וְעַרְפֵּל חִתְּלָחוּ (38:9) "swaddling band." "When I made the cloud its garment, and thick darkness a swaddling band for it." **חִתְּלָחוּ** is a "bandage," Ezek. 30:21, and **חָתַל**, Ezek. 16:4, signifies "to tie in bands." The verb seems a denominative of **חִתְּלָה**.

הֵן יִחַתֵּךְ מִי יִשְׁיבְנֶךָ (9:12) "behold, he tears away, who will keep him back?" The noun **חִתְּלָה** "robbery" occurs Prov. 23:28. In Aram. and Arab. **חִתְּלָה** = **חִתְּלָה** means also "to tear away, to plunder." Duhm, *Hiob*, 52, suggests that **יִחַתֵּךְ** was chosen because it sounded like **יִחַלֵּךְ** (Delitzsch).

וַיִּשֹׁטְטְךָ (9:26) "to strike, swoop down." The Aramaic has **טוּט** (ט for ש) in frequent use for "to fly, swing." Targum has for **טוּט** the form **טוּט**. Cheyne considers **טוּט** an Aramaism.

טֹמְאֵנִי (18:3) "to be foolish." Ew., Dillmann (in former edition of *Job*), and Stade, *Gram.*, § 10c, translate **טֹמְאֵנִי**, i. e., **טֹמְאֵנִי** "we are unclean;" this form would be Aramaic writing. We prefer to

explain נַטְמִינֶנּוּ as Del., Hoffm., Budde (p. 92) explain it, *i. e.*, נַטְמִינֶנּוּ "we are foolish in your eyes." Cf. the Aram. טַם, טַמִּים. Dillm., *Job*, 4th ed., acknowledges that the explanation of Del. is more acceptable. LXX σαρσισακαμεν = נַטְמִינֶנּוּ (Bickell, Beer) is not suitable on account of the context.

אֶת־בְּרִי יִטְרִית "to burden;" cf. طرح "to throw down." טַרַח (37:11) "Yea, he burdeneth the cloud with moisture." The noun טַרַח "burden" occurs Deut. 1:12; Isa. 1:14. The Aram. טַרַח "to toil," Afel: "to burden," and טַרְחָא, טַרְחֻתָא and טַרְחָנָא, "burden," show that the root is common to the Aramaic. The form of the verb is pure Hebrew, but the word may be an Aramaism.

יָגִיעַ (3:17) "tired." The regular—but rare—form of the adj. in Hebrew is יָגַע, Deut. 25:18.

יָגַע (20:18) "straining work;" for the usual יָגִיעַ (Job 10:3; 39:11, 16), fem. יָגַעָה, Eccles. 12:12.

יְמִימָה Pr. N., a daughter of Job; 42:14; cf. يَمَامَة "little dove" (Budde, 256). LXX Έμέπα.

יִסְוֹר (40:2) "the caviller." The form corresponds to שִׁכּוֹר, גִּבּוֹר.

יִצְרִים (17:7) "formations"—used of members of the body, from יָצַר "to form." Budde, 59, following Hoffmann, reads יִצְרִי, from יָצַר; Duhm, 92, retains Massoretic punctuation.

יִרוֹק (39:8) "the green."—The common Hebrew words are יָרֵק and יִרְק. Targum has יִרוֹקָא in this passage.

יִשִּׁישׁ (12:12; 15:10; 29:8; 32:6) "the gray-headed; the hoary." Aramaic usage. Cf. Stade, *Gram.*, § 10c. Ley reads בִּישִׁישִׁים הַמִּצֵּא; Duhm, *Hiob*, 68, finds the expression very unsatisfactory; אִרְהָ יִמִּים calls for something like הֲכִי שָׁנִים "Does wisdom consist of long years?"

יִתּוֹר (= form יָקוּם) (39:8) "that which one sees." Dillmann reads with LXX, V., Targ., Ew. יִתּוֹר "he turns to the mountain" / יִתּוֹר (Budde, Duhm). The prefix י in nouns is old, and disappears in historical times more and more, according to Dietrich, *Abhandlungen z. hebr. Gram.*, pp. 139–45. Bickell, following the LXX, strikes out the whole verse.

כְּבִיר (35:16) "to be great;" 36:31 "fulness." כְּבִילִידֵעַ מִלֵּין יִכְבִּיר "Without knowledge he multiplieth words," 35:16. The meaning "to be great" is found only in Job; the meaning "to braid" explains such

nouns as כְּבֵד, "sieve," Am. 9:9; כְּבִיר, "a braided covering," 1 Sam. 19:13, 16, and מַכְבֵּיר "mattress," 2 Kgs. 8:15. The Arabic كَبَر "to be great," II كَبَّر "to make great," and كَبِير "old," are to be compared. The adj. כְּבִיר "great" is used six times in Job and four times in Isaiah (10:13; 17:12; 28:2; 16:14). LXX, Sym. βαρεῖς παλαιότατο presuppose יַכְבִּיר. The adj. כָּבֵר "long ago" is frequently found in Ecclesiastes. Stade, *Gram.*, § 369, 3, calls it an "Aramaic word."

כִּיד (21:20) "destruction." כִּיד means "to thrust;" Arab. كَان, كَانِد, "to thrust, strike at somebody." Budde, p. 120, would read אִידוֹ; Duhm, 111, accepts Dillmann's פִּיד; other emendations are quoted by Budde, *ibid.*

כִּידוֹר (41:11) "spark." אֵשׁ יִתְכַּלְכֵּל "sparks of fire escape." Frz. Del. and Stade (*Gram.*, p. 154) derive כִּידוֹר from כִּיד. Cf. כִּידָר "a sparkling stone," Ezek. 27:16, etc.

כִּידוֹר (15:24) "unrest," especially "noise of battle" (?). Hoffmann, ZATW., III, 107, emends כִּידוֹר (Angst überwältigt ihn wie ein Engel, der zum Blitzen bereit). Fleischer (Del., *Job*, p. 195): "The verb כִּיד belongs to the root כד 'to strike, thrust.'" Cf. כִּידָר "ball," Isa. 22:18. Dillmann compares the Arab. انكد, which is used of an inimical clan, which thrusts itself upon the enemy. Cf. also Duhm, p. 84.

כֹּלָה (5:26; 30:2) "hardness, vigor, strength." כֹּלָה occurs as proper name Gen. 10:10. Assy. Kalhu = "the strong city." Cf. Schrader, KAT., to passage. As a common noun it is used twice in Job: 5:26 עֲלֵיבּוֹ אֶבְדָּ כֹּלָה "thou shalt come in strength;" 30:2 כֹּלָה וְכֹלָה "to them power is lost." Dietrich compares כָּלַל and כָּלָה and assumes as the original meaning of כָּלָה "to be completed," therefore כֹּלָה "age." Fleischer's derivation is more satisfactory. Del., *Job*, p. 90: "Out of the root כל other derivatives, as כָּלָה, כָּלַל, כָּלַם, etc., are formed, with the general meaning 'to bring together.'" כָּלַם has the special meaning "to contract, to draw the muscles together." III form כָּלַם has the meaning "to show oneself hard or strict," therefore כֹּלָה "hardness, unbroken vigor, strength."

כְּמַרְרִי (3:5) "darkening." יִבְעֲתֻהוּ כְּמַרְרִי יוֹם "darkenings of the day terrify it." Stade, *Gram.*, § 231, and Ges. suggest כְּמַרְרִי; cf. סְגִיִּיט, as the formation כְּמַרְרִי is without analogy. The Massorites thought of כְּ + מַרְרִי, therefore they punctuated כְּ. Frz. Del. compares גִּמְר and גִּימְר "the glowing coal." Cheyne, *Expositor*, 1897, Vol. V, 405 sq., reads כְּמוֹ אֲרִי יוֹם "let them (*i. e.* darkness and gloom) affright it like the cursers of the day," against Budde, p. 12, who adopts Ewald's reading, כְּמַרְרִי; so also Duhm, 19, who compares Syriac כְּמַר "to be black" (*cf.* Lam. 5:10).

כַּעַם (5:2; 6:2; 10:17; 17:7) "sorrow, vexation." כַּעַם for the common Hebrew כַּעַס and כַּ and כֹּ interchange frequently in Job; *cf.* שׁוֹפֵק, טוֹס for טוֹשׁ. Budde, p. 21; Duhm, 30.

כָּפֶן (5:22; 30:3) "hunger." Ezek. 17:7 we find כָּפְנָה שְׂרָשֶׁיהָ "the vine stretched hungrily its roots." The nouns כָּפֶן, כָּפְנָה occur in the Aramaic paraphrase of the Old Testament, for "hunger" = Hebr. רָעַב. The verb and the adj. from כָּפֶן are also frequent in Aramaic. Stade, *Gram.*, § 10c: "כָּפֶן reminds of Aramaic usage." Budde, 24: "Aram. Stammes," considers vs. 22 as a later addition. Duhm, 34, also rejects vs. 22 as a later Aramaic version of vs. 23.

לִּמּוֹ (27:14; 29:21; 38:40; 40:4) for לִּי; "the *mō* makes לִּי independent:" Del. מִי corresponds to the Arabic enclitic مَل.

לַעֲדָה see עֲלָה.

לִקְשׁ (24:6) "to glean." Am. 7:1 we find לִקְשׁ "the aftermath, the latter growth." In Aram. לִקְשִׁי is "that which is late," and לִקְשִׁיתָא "the late time;" *cf.* Wetzstein in Del., *Job*, p. 319.

מִאֲמָצִים (36:19) "forces." In 9:4 and Isa. 40:26 we find אֲמָץ. The verb אֲמָץ occurs frequently in Hebrew, and מִאֲמָץ is a regular Hebrew formation, with prefixed מִ and with two originally short *a*-vowels = *māktāl*; *cf.* מִעָרַב, מִאֲרָב, מִאֲפֵל, מִלֵּאָה. Stade, *Gram.*, § 269.

מִזָּה (12:21) "girdle." Ps. 109:19 and Isa. 23:10 we find מִזָּה from מָזָה (Ges.) or זָקַק = זָקַק "to bind" (Del.). LXX has *ταπεινὸς δὲ ἰσάρο* = מִפְּתֵי אֲבִיּוֹנִים רָפָה "the wound of the poor he healeth."

מִזְרוֹת (38:32) "watches of the night." הֲתֵצִיא מִזְרוֹת בֵּעֲתוֹ "canst thou lead out the watches of the night in their time?" Ges.¹¹: "Probably = מְזֻלוֹת 'places of rest,' with change of לִ into רִ. This is also the view of Schenkel and Fried. Del. Budde and Duhm

are entirely noncommittal. It is true the interchange of ל and ר is found in Aramaic; cf. חֲלָצִים "thighs," Aram. חֲרָץ; שְׁרָשְׁרוֹת; חֲרָץ "chains," Mishna שְׁלִשְׁלֹת. The Aramaic version has in our passage מְחֲלִיא, but LXX μαλῶσπῶθ. In the book of Job the interchange of ל and ר is not found. On the other hand, the author of Job uses ז for צ, even ס for צ. Compare צַעֲרִיר for צִיר, 36:2; צַר for צִר, 6:17; נָחַס for נָחֵץ, 30:13. In Hebrew we have נָצַר, Assyr. našaru. Cf. the Assyrian maṣartu nitaṣar "a watch we watched;" maṣartu signifies the "night watch," and this term may have been used here; then מְחֲרֹת stands for מְצֻרוֹת. Dillmann translates מְחֲרֹת "dispersing rainstorms;" cf. מְחָרִים, 37:9, "north winds." Hoffmann, ZA., III, 108, reads מְחֲרֹת.

מְחָרִים (37:9) "north winds." LXX, ἀκρωτήρια "daybreak"? Jerome, *Ab arcturo*. Form is good Hebrew. Cf. Arabic ذَاكِرَات "those who spread," said of the winds. Budde, p. 223, adopts Voigt's excellent emendation: וּמִמְחָרִים "aus den Speichern," after Ps. 144:13; Duhm, 177, "Und von den Nordsternen (kommt) die Kälte," on the basis of the V. translation.

מֶחֱ (21:24) "marrow." The Arab. نُحْ and مُحْ means "marrow." The Aram. מוּחָא means "brain, skull." In our passage the Targ. has מוּקָא. מֶחֱ is a regular Hebrew formation; cf. חֶךְ, חֶק, חֶלֶךְ. חֶנֶק (or מְחֶנֶק) (7:15) "strangling, death," parallel with מוֹת. מְחַנֵּק "killing one," Nah. 2:13; Niph. יַחֲנֵק "to kill one's self," 2 Sam. 17:23. In Aram. חֶנֶק is frequent, but the Aramaic version in our passage has שִׁירְנוּקָא. Arab. خنق. Form and word are Hebrew.

מְסִיל (40:18) "hammered stave." The Targg. have מְסִיל here, and 1 Sam. 17:6. In Arabic we find مَطْل "to stretch through hammering;" cf. מַטַּר "to rain," i. e., "fall in long stripes" (Del.). Frz. Del.: "מַטַּר is Hebræo-Arabic." Cf. the Greek μέταλλον "metal." מְסִיל is either from מַטָּל or מַטֵּל, as מְדִינָה from דִּין, מְרִיבָה from רִיב (Stade, *Gram.*, § 274l, note), or may be an Aram. pass. part. "hammered."

מֶלַח (cf. מֶלַח "salt") (30:4) a salad-like growth. Ges.¹¹ "Melde." Greek ἀλμος. Dietrich, *Abh.*, p. 115, II, considers לַח to be the root of מֶלַח "to press through, to ferment." In many places of the Orient salt is a common efflorescence of the ground, for instance,

at the Red Sea. Salt is called מֶלַח because it presses through the ground. In Aram. מֶלַח means "to salt," and is a denominative of מֶלַח "salt." Levy suggests that מְלוּחָא in Aramaic may be the Greek *μαλάχη* = "Malve," a plant which the poor of the East eat. The form מְלוּחָא is good Hebrew; cf. Stade, § 227, like אֶלֶף, טָבוֹר. The Piel of מֶלַח occurs three times in the Old Testament.

מֶלֶט. See Part II of this article.

מִדָּר (stem מִדַּר; cf. מִסָּב from סָבַב) (38:5) "measure." The verb מִדַּר is common in Hebrew.

מִמְרוּרִים (with *dag. dirim.* as in מִמְנֶרֶה) from מָרַר (9:18) "bitterness." מִמְרוּרִים is a regular Hebrew formation with original *ā* in the first syllable and *a* in the second = *māktal* (cf. Stade, § 71, 2). The *dag. dirim.* may be used to make the form more pathetic. But see Budde, p. 44; 13:26 we have מִרְרוּת with the same meaning. Löhner and Beer read בְּמִרְרוּת after Lam. 3:15.

מְנִלָּה (15:29) "possession." The verb נָלַח "to reach" occurs Isa. 33:1. Böttcher, *Neue Ährenlese*, on Isa. 33:1, explains מְנִלָּה from מְנִלָּה = מְנִלָּה "fulness." Targ. מִן לֵם *ex iis*. LXX, *σκίαν* = "shade," not צֶלֶם, but צֶלֶם. Siegf. (Polychrome Bible) and Stade declare the form "hopelessly corrupt." But we have נָלַח in Hebrew and نَال in Arabic. It is true that the letters ל and נ are not otherwise found connected in roots, wherefore Olsh., *Gram.*, § 9, 4, pronounces these letters as incompatible in Hebrew. Budde, p. 81: מְנִלָּה is impossible; of the many emendations suggested (by Wellhausen, Voigt, Hitzig, Beer), none is quite acceptable; see also Duhm, p. 85.

מָס (6:14) "the discouraged." Baer reads מָס, but מָס is admissible; compare מָס from מָס, although the overwhelming number of *kafl* formations of מָס have *ā* (=-) as מָס, מָס, etc. The word מָס is good Hebrew. See Budde's long note to this word, pp. 27-8; Duhm, pp. 37-8.

מִסָּה (9:23) "despair." In form it exactly corresponds with מִסָּה "trial, temptation," from מָסָה, but the context favors מִסָּה "despair," from מָסָה (Budde, p. 45). Form and meaning are Hebrew.

מִסָּה (41:18) "the dart, the pointed shaft," from מָסָה, in the sense of the Arab. نَسَعَ "to throw." An Arabism, according to Dillmann.

מִסָּה (יִסָּר) (33:16) "warning." The regular Hebrew form מִסָּה occurs 5:17, etc. מִסָּה probably goes back to the form *māktal*;

cf. מוֹדַע from *mau-da*, מוֹדַע, etc. The root is Hebrew. [Budde, p. 196; Duhm, 159, "nach LXX lies מוֹדַע = מוֹדַעִים, denn weder מוֹדַע noch מוֹדַעִים giebt einen vernünftigen Sinn."]

מַעֲבָד (34:25) "the doing." Dan. 4:34 we find the Aram. מַעֲבָד with the same meaning. The form is good Hebrew, like מַלְאָךְ, etc., from the form *maktāl*, but the word is Aramaic for Hebr. פָּעַל or מַעֲשֵׂה. מַעֲבָד belongs to the Elihu speeches, which contain more Aramaisms than the other speeches. Budde, p. 205; Duhm, 116.

מַעֲדָנוֹת (38:31) "bands;" the word seems transposed for מַעֲדָנוֹת from עָבַד "to bind" (Budde, 232); LXX δεσμὸν; Targ. שִׁירֵי = *seipās*. In the language of the Talmud מַעֲדָנוֹת also signifies the end knots of a mat. מַעֲדָנוֹת is the regular Hebrew form *maktāl*.

מַפְגֵּעַ (7:20) "attack." The form is a *miktāl* formation; cf. מַדְבֵּר, מַשְׁפָּח. The verb פָּגַע and the noun פָּגַע are common Hebrew; cf. 16:12; Lam. 3:12.

מַפֵּחַ (11:20) "the breathing out" (of the soul). The verb נָפַח in connection with נֶפֶשׁ is used only Jer. 15:9 and Job 31:39. Jer. 6:29 we find מַפֵּחַ "bellows." The heaving of the breast in death-struggle may have caused the author to think of bellows, and thus he formed מַפֵּחַ. On the form cf. מִתָּן "a present," and Ges., *Gram.*, § 85, 48.

מַפְלְאוֹת (37:16) "wonder," generally נִפְלְאוֹת Ps. 9:2; 26:7; 40:6. Job 37:5, as adverb "wonderfully." Siegfr. considers מַ for נ a clerical error, but the change may be intentional, to secure similarity of sound; cf. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia of the Old Testament*, p. 42.

מַפְלֵשׁ (37:16) "the moving, weighing of clouds." Here again we find מַפְלֵשׁ for פִּלַּשׁ, i. e., שׁ for ס. The verb פִּלַּשׁ is used six times in the Old Testament, and פִּלַּשׁ "weight," Prov. 16:11; Isa. 40:12. The form is good Hebrew, like מַדְבֵּר. But see Budde, 224: read מַפְרֵשִׁי (cf. 36:29) and נִפְלְאוֹת; Duhm, rejecting Budde's reading, proposes to drop the א in מַפְלְאוֹת and also to do away with the Massoretic *matres lectionis*, thus reading מַפֵּל תְּהוֹם מִרְעַם: "das Gewölk, das so leicht in der Luft schwimmt, lässt doch infolge des Donners ungeheure Wassermassen (תְּהוֹם, Ps. 42:8) niederstürzen."

מַרְרָה (16:13) "gall," from מָרַר "to be bitter," found in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian. Job 20:25 we find the usual Hebrew word for "gall" מַרְרָה. The form appears to be Aramaic; original form *katēl*; cf. Kautzsch, *Aram. Gram.*, p. 105.

מְשִׁיבָה (19:4) "error." שִׁיב does not occur in Hebrew, but שִׁיבָה and שִׁיבָה. The form may be an Aramaism. Duhm, p. 98, reads מְשִׁיבָה : וְאִם on the basis of LXX.

מְשִׁטָּר (38:33) "dominion." שִׁטָּר is frequent in Hebrew; cf. שִׁטָּר "writer, officer," Assy. šaṭāru.

מְשָׁכוֹת (38:31) lit. "the drawing, pulling ones," poetic for "ropes" wherewith one is bound. Cf. Arab. مَسَكَا "foot chains of women." מִשָּׁךְ "to pull" is common in Hebrew; also מִשָּׁךְ "the drawing apart," i. e., "spreading of the seed." מְשָׁכוֹת is a regular active participle formation; in its meaning it suggests Arabic influence. See Budde, 232.

מִשְׁלֵי (17:6) inf. like שִׁחֻק "byword." LXX θρῶλλγμα. מִשְׁלֵי is peculiar to Job for מִשְׁלֵי. Budde, p. 89, perhaps לְמִשְׁלֵי לְעַמִּים against Siegfried's suggestion, 'מִשְׁלֵי לֵעַ', which, however, Duhm, p. 42, adopts.

מִשְׁלֵי (41:25) "the equal." Siegf.-Stade, H. W., translates אֵין-עַל עֶפֶר מִשְׁלֵי "not is upon earth his equal." This translation is supported by LXX, Del., Merx, etc.

נָבָךְ (38:16) "spring," LXX πηγή. הִבֵּאתָ עֲדֵי-נְבָרִים "hast thou come to the springs of the ocean?" In Arab. نَبَج "to spring forth," Talm. נבג. Dillm., p. 236, considers נבך "nur härtere Aussprache für נבע." Frz. Del., p. 498, compares Arabic nabaka "Hügel, Bergelehne," i. e., that which presses itself upward. Budde, p. 230, would not emend נבלי "Schläuche sondern etwa = נבעי" and suggests that מִבְּכֵי (28:11) may have read מִבְּכֵי or נבכי. Cheyne, *Expositor*, 1897, Vol. V, 414, recommends Budde's correction נבעי, but considers מִבְּכֵי even better.

נִדְדִים (7:4) "restlessness." נָדַד "to flee," in Hebrew and Aramaic. The plural and the dark *u* are used to intensify the meaning. Ew., *Gram.*, § 153a, 1.

נָהַק (cf. נָאָק) an onomatopoeic word, of the braying of the ass (6:5), of the complaints of the poor and hungry people (30:7). Stade, *Gram.*, p. 12, considers נָהַק an Arabism. In Arabic نَفَّ is used of the croaking of frogs, the cackling of the hen, the piercing cries of the cat, etc. נָאָק "to lament" is found Ezek. 30:24 and Job. 24:12.

נְהָרָה (3:4) "light, daylight." One of the many feminine forms of Job (Dillm., p. 24) which may be Aramaisms. Dan. 2:22 נְהוּרָא = Hebr. אֹר.

נְחָשׁ (6:12) "iron" (Budde: "Erz"). The form may be an adjective formed from נָחַשׁ; see Stade, *Gram.*, § 211a. In Arabic نَحَس means "to treat hard, roughly;" Aram. נְחָשׁ "iron, copper." נְהוּשָׁה "iron" occurs twice in Job and otherwise in the Old Testament. As metal names have frequently another origin than the language spoken by the nation where the word is found, no conclusions from such names can be made.

נְחִירִים (41:12) "nostrils." נָחַר, Arab. نَحَرَ means "to snort." Thus נָחַר, Job 39:20, and נְהִירָה, Jer. 8:16, "the snorting of a horse." Assyr. nahirāti "nostrils." The proper noun נְחִיר, brother of Abraham, speaks for the Aramaic origin of נְחִירִים.

נִד (16:5) "comfort," נִיד √.

נָכַח (30:8) "to strike," for נָכַח. In Proverbs we have נָכַח "striking," 15:13; 17:22; 18:14. In Arabic we find نَكَأ and نَكَى.

נָכַר (31:3) "misfortune." Obadja 12, נָכַר. On נָכַר cf. Del., *Proleg.*, p. 195. Ley's suggestion that נָכַר has been lost before or after לַעֲלֹל is rejected by Budde, 177, and accepted by Duhm, 145.

נָחַס (30:13) "to tear up, destroy." "4 codd. per interpretamentum נָחַצוּ," Ges., *Thes.* LXX ἐξερξαίνουσιν ἡμᾶς. נָחַץ is frequently found in Hebrew. נָחַס and נָחַצ are Aramaisms for נָחַץ. Duhm, 142, suggests to read נָחַצוּ; with Siegfr. he contends that the remainder of the verse is quite unintelligible.

נָחַץ (4:10) "to tear up, out." וְשִׁנֵּי בְּפִירִים נָחַצוּ "and the teeth of the young lions are torn out." נָחַץ is clearly Aramaic for Hebr. נָחַץ. Budde, p. 18, "starker Aramaismus (wie אָרַע = אֶרֶץ); vgl. 19:10." The use of נָ in Aramaic for the Hebrew פָ is very common; cf. Kautzsch, *Aram. Gram.*, § 10, 2a.

סָד (13:27; 33:11) "block, stocks." The usual Hebrew word for "block" is סָדָה, 2 Chron. 16:10; Jer. 20:2, 3. The Aramaic is סָדָא and סָדָא. סָד does not occur in Hebrew; the Arab. سَد means "to be tight," then "to inclose." The word looks like an Arabism. [Budde, p. 69, much more appropriately says: "findet sich im Syrischen wieder als 'Stock, Block,' ein Holzblock, in den die Füße

eingeschlossen wurden, zu strenger Haft und Marter zugleich," etc.; both Budde and Duhm compare τὸ ζύλον of Acts 16:24, and the LXX of Job 33:11.]

סָדָר (10:22) "row, order." Targ. סָדָר. Stade considers the word as "not Hebrew." סָדָר is prevalent in Aramaic, also סָדָרָא. Assy. sidru = "battle array." Budde well compares שְׂדֵרוֹת, 2 Kgs. 11:8, 15, "rows of soldiers;" here again we find an interchange of ס and ש. סָדָר is an Aramaism. See, also, Duhm, 61.

סָלַד (6:10) "to jump, hop." אֶסְלֹדָה בְּחִילָה "I would hop in pain," i. e., notwithstanding the pain. LXX ἁλλόμεν. Ew., סָלַד according to LXX, Targ., and Arab. صلد; comp. صلت "to move violently, leap, rejoice." Stade, *Gram.*, § 10c, considers סָלַד as a word peculiar to a territory in whose vicinity Arabic and Aramaic tribes dwelled. The talmudic סָלַד means "to singe, burn," and the poetry of the synagogue uses סָלַד for "to pray" (see Del., *Job*, p. 98, note), therefore only the Arab. صَلَد "to step heavily, to gallop," etc., comes into consideration. סָלַד is an Arabism.

סָפַח (30:7) "to pour." The noun סָפִיחַ is used like here only Prov. 28:3 and Job 14:19 of "pouring rain;" cf. Arab. سَفَح "to pour, pour out." Budde, 171, "Lies besser Niph. יִסְפָּחוּ, nach Jes. 14:1; vgl. 1 Sam. 2:36; 26:19 zu deuten;" Siegf., יִסְפָּחוּ; see also Duhm, 141.

עָגַם (30:25) "to be bowed down." עָגַמְדָה נַפְשִׁי לְאֹבִיּוֹן "my soul was grieved for the poor." In Aramaic עָגַם "to be sad;" also עָגִימִין occurs. Del. compares אָגַם, whence אָגַם "sad," Isa. 19:10; perhaps אָגַם, Assy. agammu, is of the same root; cf. Arab. اَجَم "to abhor." An Aramaism. Cf. Budde, 175.

עָיִל (16:11; 19:18; 21:11) "boy." Siegf.-Stade, Budde, 85; Duhm, 88, and others, translate עָיִל in 16:11 by "evil-doer," i. e., they read עָיִל; but עָיִל, 19:18 and 21:11, means "boy," from עָיַל "to nourish." The form may be Aramaic; cf. אָיִל, פָּסִיל, גָּבִיר, forms which have dropped the pretonic vowel. Ew., *Gram.*, § 153d.

עָטִין (21:24) "milk pails or troughs," Dillmann. Ges.¹¹ takes עָטִין = Aram. עֲטִמָּא "side," translating עָטִינִי מִלְּאֵי חֶלֶב "his sides are full of fat;" so evidently LXX ἑγχεα, V. viscera, Syr. latera. Del., Dillm., Budde translate, "his milk pails are full of milk," which is

preferable; cf. the talmudic **מִעֵץ** "trough for olives." The form looks Aramaic; cf. **בְּרִידָה**, Dan. 3:28; **בְּמִירָה**, Ezra 7:12; Kautzsch, *Aram. Gram.*, p. 105.

עֲשִׂישָׁה (41:10) "the sneezing." **עֲשִׂישָׁתָיו הָהֵל אֹר** "his sneezings make light shine forth." Arab. **عَطَسَ** "to sneeze." Budde, 250, reads with Stade, Siegfr., Bickell, singular: **עֲשִׂישָׁתו**; so also Duhm, 199.

עֵשׂ or **עֵשׂ** (9:9 and 38:32) "the Bear" (astron.). Siegfr. considers **עֵשׂ** in 9:9 a clerical error. Budde thinks the Aramaic word may have been **עֵשׂ**. The Arabs call the Bear (*i. e.*, *septentrio*) **نَعَش**. Duhm, 51, "möglichlicherweise ist unser (9:9) **עֵשׂ** durch Dittographie aus **עֵשׂה** entstanden."

עָלַע (39:30) "to suck." Olsh., Hoffm., Stade, Siegfr., Budde, 239; Duhm, 192, prefer to read **לָעַע**. The word seems to be onomatopoeitic.

עֲנָה (3:5) "cloud." **עָנָה** in Hebrew frequently for "cloud." **עֲנָה** may be the Aramaic emphatic form. The use of feminine nouns for the usual masculine forms is found in the book of Job more than in other books; cf. Hirzel, in Dillmann's *Job*, on 3:4. From a psychological point of view the use of the feminine form just in this book may be very significant.

עֲרֹד (39:5) "wild ass." In Aramaic we find **עֲרֹד**, **עֲרֹדָא**, "onager." Arab. **عَرَد** "wild ass." The Hebrew parallel word is **פָּרָא**. Siegfr., Stade, *H. W.*, considers correctly **עֲרֹד** an Aramaism. See Budde, 235, **עֲרֹד** "‘der Flüchtige’ ist des Wildesels aram. Name, hier in der Uebersetzung als Parallele benutzt. Vgl. Wetzstein bei Del.³ zu unserer Stelle;" also Duhm, 189.

עֲרֹץ (30:6) "something gloomy." **בְּעֲרֹץ נְחָלִים** "in gloomy valleys." **עֲרֹץ** "to frighten, to be afraid," is frequently found in Hebrew.

עֲרָק (30:3, 17) "to gnaw." Vs. 3: **הָעֲרָקִים צִיָּה** "the gnawers of the desert." Vs. 17: **עֲרָקִי לֹא יִשְׁכָּבוּן** "my gnawers (pain) do not rest." LXX and Targ. translate "to flee." In Arab. **عَرَفَ** has both meanings: "to flee" and "to gnaw." **עֲרָק** is probably an Arabism. See Budde, 170, against Bickell's reading; also cf. Duhm, p. 141.

עֲשָׂתוֹת (12:5) "thought, opinion." Some point **עֲשָׂתוֹת** from **עֲשָׂה** "thought." Dillm., *Job*, p. xxvii, classes **עֲשָׂתוֹת** among the words in Job that are either Aramaic or late Hebrew. The verb **עָשָׂה**, Jon.

1:6, Siegfr.-Stade, *H. W.*, considers an Aramaism; cf. עָשָׂה, Cant. 5, 14. Budde: "Der durchaus aramäische Stamm gibt im B. Hiob keinen Anstoss." עֲשָׂהוּ an Aramaism. Duhm, p. 66: "Das unklare und sonst nicht so vorkommende Wort עֲשָׂהוּ ist nach LXX in עָשָׂה zu verwandeln; dieses עָשָׂה oder עָשָׂהִים (cap. 24:1) steht im emphatischen Sinne: bedeutsame, schicksalbringende Zeittermine," etc.

פֶּה (38:11) "here," for Hebr. פֶּה may be Aramaic writing.

פָּרַע (33:24) "to free," like the Hebr. פָּרַח. Wetzstein suggests that פָּרַע instead of פָּרַח may be stronger = "a violent loosening, *abscindere*." Frz. Del. compares فَرَى and considers פָּרַע an Arabism, but the Arabic does not explain the פ. Professor Jastrow considers "פָּרַע simply as an orthographical variation due to dialectical peculiarities of Job's district, or a textual error." Budde, 199: "פָּרַעוֹהִי ist entweder aus פָּרַחֹהִי (so Siegfr.-Stade, *H. W.*; Siegfr., *Hiob*) oder aus פָּרַעֹהִי (so some manuscripts; also Duhm, p. 161) verdorben; das zweite ist leichter und zugleich besser, weil פָּרַע 'loslassen,' פָּרַח 'loskaufen' heisst."

פִּימָה (15:27) "fat;" cf. فَيْمٌ. Olsh. פִּימָה = פִּימָה from פֶּה. In

Hebrew פֶּה is not found, but in Arabic we have فَيْمٌ and فֶּה "to be full." See Budde, 80. Jewish exegetes compare פֶּה, 1 Sam. 13:21, "wrinkles of paunchy flesh." Hoffmann reads פֶּה "speech." We rather consider פִּימָה = פִּימָה as an Aramaism; cf. רִישׁוֹן from ראש. The suggestion of Hoffmann that the frequently found feminine ending in Job is often the misunderstood Aramaic *stat. determ.* is very convincing.

פָּלַץ (9:6) "to tear loose," Hithp. יִתְפַּלֵּץ "to quiver." Cf. the noun פִּלְצוּת, 21:6, etc. In Arabic فَلَص "to tear." פָּלַץ is rather an Aramaism, although found in Hebrew.

פָּרַחָה (30:12) "rabble." [See Budde, 172; Duhm, 142: "In vs. 12a erkennt man ein יִקְוֶמָה . . . עָלַי, 'wider mich erheben sich . . . , was zwischen den beiden Wörtern steht, muss das Subject bilden: מִעֲרֹכְתָיו ergiebt ohne allzu gewaltsame Änderung ein פָּרַחָה, 'seine Schlachtreihen.'" Frz. Del.: "פָּרַחָה is the only formation corresponding to the Arab. فَعْلَال."

פָּרִישׁ (or פָּרִישׁ Stade, *Gram.*, § 150a, 3, and Baer-Delitzsch) (26:9) "to spread." פָּרִישׁ עָלָיו עָנָנִי "he spreadeth over it his cloud."

Either **ר** or **ז** can have been added. In Aramaic the insertion of **ר** is frequent. Cf. **רַמְשֵׁק** and **רַמְשֵׁק**, 1 Chron. 18:5, etc. The root **פַּרֵּשׁ** occurs in Hebrew, whilst **פִּרְשׁ** does not exist; therefore Frz. Del. considers **פִּרְשׁ** as an intensive form from **פַּרֵּשׁ**. This corresponds with the fact that verba quadrilitera have the Pael form in Aramaic—for instance, **קַטְרַג**, **סַרְבֵּל**, **סַקְבֵּל**, **פַּרְפֵּס**, etc. Cf. Winer, *Chald. Gram. für Bibel u. Targ.*, § 14, 2. In Assy. we have *parašu*, but also *ipparšiddu*, I R., 37, 82. And Judg. 3:22 we find **פִּרְשְׁדוֹן** “the step,” *i. e.*, that “which is between the feet;” cf. Arab. **فَرَشَد**. In the book of Job we have **דִּקְדָּ** for **דִּקְדָּ**; **וּחַל** for **וּחַל**; thus here we may have **פִּרְשׁ** as an idiomatic Aramaic form for **פַּרְשֵׁד**. We are in doubt whether the root really is **פַּרֵּשׁ** or **פַּרְשׁ**, or **פִּרְשׁ**. Budde, 146: “Das Wort verdankt seine Entstehung wohl nur einer Verschreibung nach **מֵאֶחָד** in vs. 9a. Lies also **פִּרְשׁ**, **פַּרֵּשׁ** oder **פַּרְשׁ**, das letztere am besten.” Duhm, 130: “**פִּרְשׁ** ist wohl aus zwei Lesarten **פִּרְז** und **פִּרְשׁ** entstanden und das letztere herzustellen.”

פִּשׁ (35:15) “arrogance.” Arab. **فَس**. In Hebrew we have **פִּשׁ** “to spread out,” but not **פִּשְׁשׁ**, to which root **פִּשׁ** with pathach points. Fr. Del.: “**פִּשׁ** must be explained from the Arabic; Theod., Sym. **παράττωμα** = **פִּשְׁשׁ**.” See Budde, 212; Duhm, 170.

צִאֲלִים (40:21, 22) “lotus bushes.” Cf. Arab. **ضَالٌ**, and Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 275.

צִדְרָר (24:11) Hiph., “to make oil.” A denominative Hebrew verb from **יִצְפֹּר** “newly pressed oil.” Bickell reads **יִצְפֹּר** and translates, “zwischen Edeltrauben halten sie Wache.”

צִמִּים (5:5) “ruin;” (18:9) “snare.” Ew., Merx, Siegfr., follow the versions in 5:5, and read: **צִמִּים = צִמִּים** “the thirsty ones;” that would be Aramaic writing. But **צִמִּים** “snare” gives a suitable sense: **וְשִׁאָה צִמִּים חִילָם** “snares snap after their possessions.”

Cf. Arab. **صَمَّ** “to be tight,” and 18:9. See on this verse (5:5) especially Budde, 21, and Duhm, 31, where the suggestions of others are discussed and the authors’ own readings mentioned.

קָטַט (8:14; 10:1) “to be cut off.” 8:14: **אֲשֶׁר-יִקְוֶה כְּסֶלֶךְ** “whose confidence shall be cut off, or tear like a string,” Dillmann. **יִקְוֶה**, either from **קָוַה**, cf. **قَاص** “to break off,” or from **קָטַט = קָצַץ** “to cut off.” In biblical Aram. **קָטַט** does not occur, but it is the

later Aramaic word for "to quarrel;" cf. קָטַטָּה "quarrel." 10:1, נִקְטָה is an Aramaic formation for נִקְטָה, a metaplastic Niphal form from קָטַט = קָטַט as נִפְצָה, Isa. 33:3. Cf. Ges., *Gram.*, § 67, 11. Beer: קוֹרִים for יָקוּם; so also Duhm, 49, who translates: "he (fool) whose confidence is like as cobweb."

קָמַט (16:8 and 22:16) "to shrink together;" Arab. قَمَط "to lace;" Aram. קָמַט "the wrinkle." In Aramaic קָמַט is found quite frequently.

קָנַץ (18:2) לְמִלִּין קָנַץ תְּשִׁימוּן "how long will ye make a chase after words?" קָנַץ for קָנַץ "end" would be good Aramaic, and thus some commentators explain the word. But קָנַץ can be as well explained from the Arabic. قَنَّص means "to hunt, chase," and قَنَّص "a hunter's net." This agrees best with the context, as עַד-אָנָּה does not mean "when at least," but "how long?" See Budde, 92. Duhm, p. 92, reads תָּשִׁים קָנַץ; see also Siegfr., *Hiob*, Polychrome, p. 35, below.

קֶרֶן-רִפּוּךְ, a proper name (42:14) "paint-horn." Cf. אֲבִנֵי פֶדֶךְ "a costly stone," 1 Chron. 29:2.

רָאָה (37:18) "mirror." Exod. 38:8, מִרְאָה is used for "mirror;" Arab. مِرَاة. Stade takes רָאָה to be an imperative from an original form: *ketāli*, § 599b. But we prefer a different explanation. We consider it as a *ḫutl*-formation. Cf. רָפַי, Ezek. 28:7, from רָפַי, and Isa. 40:15, מִדְּבִי, from דְּבִי, and וְצָרִי, Gen. 37:25, from צָרִי; thus here רָאָה from רָאָה. רָאָה would then have the meaning "seeing" and "mirror," just as מִרְאָה has both meanings. Siegfr.-Stade *H. W.*, also explains רָאָה = רָאָה.

רֶגֶב (21:33; 38:38) "clod of earth." In Hebrew the root רֶגַב is not found; in Arabic we have رَجَب "to be startled," then "thickened;" the expression, 38:38, וְרֶגֶבִים יִדְבְּקוּ "and the clods shall cling together" point to رَجَب.

רָפַץ (26:11) "to tremble." In Hebrew we have related stems, רָפַץ, רָפַץ, רָפַץ; but in Arabic رَفَّ "palpitare." In Aramaic רָפַץ an Arabism. See Budde, 146.

רָזַם (15:12) "to wink." In Arabic we have رَمَز "to look from below upward," in Aramaic רָמַץ "to wink." A transposition of consonants

seems to have taken place. Some (5) codd. read יִרְמֹזֶן. Budde, 78: "wird auf aram. u. syr. רִמָּז zurückgeführt."

רָחֹב (36:16) "the wide place;" plur. 38:18, "widths." See Budde, 216, 230; and especially Duhm, 173.

רֹטֵב (24:8) "to be damp, wet, juicy;" Aramaic רֹטֵב.

רָטַב (8:16) "juicy." Neither verb nor adj. occurs otherwise in Hebrew.

In Arabic we have رَطَبَ, رَطَبٌ. Both of the above words are possibly Arabisms or Aramaisms. Budde, 38: "Der Stamm ist durchaus aramäisch im Sinne von 'feucht, frisch, grün sein.'"

רֹטֵפֶשׁ (33:25) "fresh, juicy." Altschüler, *ZATW.*, VI, p. 212, proposes to read טֹפֶשׁ. In Arabic طَرَفَش means "to become fresh again;" in the Talmud we find טֹרֶפֶשׁ, with the gloss טוֹמֵן "fat." The consonants would then be transposed in Job, as in רוֹם. Fränkel, *ZA.*, III, p. 55, also compares the Jewish טֹרֶפֶשׁא, Assyrian. ṭapašū. Budde, 199, reads an imperf. יִטְפֹּשׁ (Ps. 119:70) for רֹטֵפֶשׁ, following Bickell and Siegfr.; see also Duhm's suggestions, *Hiob*, p. 161.

רִי (37:11) for רִי "fulness." Cf. פָּרִי for כִּי, Isa. 3:24; עֲרִיעִים for עֲרִיעִים, Isa. 19:14. Stade, *Gram.*, § 117c, Arab. رَى. Hoffmann's suggestion, בְּרִי[א], may be mentioned here, although it is quite unacceptable; see Budde, p. 223; Duhm, 177, reads בָּרֶן "hail;" cf. Jos. 10:11: "the order of thought would be cold, ice, hail." This would well fit in with Assyrian parallels.

רִיעַ (6:27) "friend," for רִיעַ, with irrational י of secondary formation. (Budde, 31; cf. טָלִיזִין, 21:23.) Wetzstein, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1873, p. 288, derives רִיעַ from רִיעַ "to be closely connected."

רִישׁוֹן (8:8) "first," for רִאשׁוֹן, cf. רִאשׁוֹן, 15:7; both cases probably scribal errors of early copyists.

רִנָּה (39:23) "to rattle." The root רִנָּה is not found in Hebrew, but רִנָּן "to make a buzzing noise." In Arabic رَنَّ is used to signify the sound caused by an arrow flying from the bow. If רִנָּן is adopted, then we must naturally also accept Budde's reading תִּרְנָה רִאשׁוֹנָה; on the other hand, Duhm, 119, says: "Mit Recht hat das Ktīb lieber ein Verb רִנָּה statuiert, als das הַ von תִּרְנָה als Artikel vor das folgende Wort gesetzt."

רְנָנִים (39:13) "ostrich." That the female ostrich is meant is evident from 39:16. Hoffmann emends (after Lam. 4:3) יֶעֱנִים for בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה; so also Budde, 236, who adds: "Abhängigkeit von jener Stelle ist ganz wahrscheinlich;" Duhm, 190.

רַעְמָה (39:19) "trembling, flowing mane." הִתְלַבֵּשׁ צוֹאָרוֹ רַעְמָה "hast thou clothed his neck with a flowing mane?" Duhm, 191, "Bedeutung 'Mähne' ist unsicher und nur aus dem Zusammenhang erschlossen; vielleicht schrieb der Dichter רַקְמָה 'mit farbigen Fransen.'" *mit farbigen Fransen.*

רֵעֵן (15:32) "juicy, green." The adj. רֵעֵן, also a Pilel formation like רַעְנָה in our passage, occurs often. Dan. 4:1, רַעְנָן "to live in blooming happiness." Duhm, 85: "pil. perf. 3d pers. fem. in pause."

רַקְבוֹן (41:19) "rotteness." The verb רַקַּב is found Isa. 40:20 "to rot," Prov. 10:7 metaphorically. רַקַּב is used here as רַקְבוֹן in 13:28, etc. רַקְבוֹן is an intensive formation. Ges., *Gram.*, § 85, 54. Budde, 251, suggests that the final ך might be a dittography caused by the following ך, and ך a later *mater lectionis*, so that also here the original reading would have been רַקַּב.

שָׁנָה (8:11; 12:23; 36:24, and possibly 8:7) "to become great." שָׁנָה is found Ps. 92:13; 73:12; both words are Aramaic for רַבב. On 8:7 see Budde, 37, and Duhm, 47.

שָׁפִירָא (36:26; 37:23) "great." Aside from the Aramaic portions of Daniel this adjective is found only in Job, and corresponds to the Hebr. רַב.

שָׁהִיד (16:19) "witness." Hebr. עֵד, Arab. شَهِيد "witness." Gen 31:47 Laban uses the Aram. שְׁהִידָתָא "testimony." Budde, 86: "שְׁהִידָא (!) von dem aram. Parallelworte שְׁהִיד;" so also Duhm, 89.

שִׁיא (20:6) "height, greatness," for נְשִׂיא; cf. שִׁיאָן for נְשִׂיאָן. The omission of initial נ in noun formations is rare. See Budde, 112; Duhm, 105.

שִׁכָּה (40:31) "sharp weapon." The verb שִׁכַּךְ does not occur in the Old Testament, but שִׁיךְ "thorn;" שִׁיךְ "fence;" מְשִׁכָּה "thorn-hedge." In Arabic *šauka* is "thorn, prod, spear." Budde, 247, calls attention to שִׁכָּם, Num. 35:55; Duhm, 199. The word is also found in Assyrian.

מִי־שֵׁת בְּשִׁחוֹת חֲכָמָה אוֹ? (38:36) either "rooster" or "mind"? מִי נָתַן לְשִׁכְרִי בִינָה "who hath placed in the inner parts wisdom, or who hath given to the mind insight?" Del. considers שִׁכְרִי like Aram. סִכְרִי "speculator" = "cock," name of that animal in Jewish

tradition. Hoffm.: שָׁכַר = *Sacht*, Phoenician name of Mercury. Dillm.: "From the more Aramaic than Hebrew שָׁכַר, it may signify an 'appearance or phenomenon,' therefore 'cloud formation;' cf. Isa. 2:16, מְכִיחֹת." Budde, 233: "Luftgebilde." "Die angenommenen Bedeutungen von מְכִיחֹת 'Wolkenschichten' und שָׁכַר 'Luftgebilde' sind unsicher, lassen sich aber etymologisch rechtfertigen," etc. Also see Duham, 187-8. Cheyne, *Expositor*, August, 1898, pp. 85-6, corrects שָׁכַר into קֶשֶׁת "bow," i. e., the kakkab kasti = *Sirius*, translating the distich:

Who hath put wisdom into the Lance-star
Or given understanding to the Bow-star?

Also see Cheyne, in *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, July, 1898.

מַעֲרָפִים (4:13; 22:2) "thoughts." מַעֲרָפִים we find 1 Kgs. 18:21; thus we have here, again, the interchange of מ and ע.

מִשְׁפָּק (36:18) "scorn, clapping of the hands in scorn." מִשְׁפָּק is derived from שָׁפַק, used in 27:23 for "clapping the hands;" the Hiph. means, Isa. 2:6, "to clasp hands," i. e., make a covenant. שָׁפַק, I, corresponds to the usual Hebr. שָׁפַק, I; cf. Arab. سَفَق and صَفَق.

מִשְׁפָּק (20:22) "fulness;" בְּמִלְאוֹת מִשְׁפָּקוֹ "in the fulness of his fulness." מִשְׁפָּק from שָׁפַק, II, "to pour out, to have enough." Cf. mishnic הִסְפִּיק "it satisfies." (Budde, 115.)

שָׂרִיב (18:5) "flame." The word is an Aramaism. Dan. 3:22 we find שָׂרִיבָא and Dan. 7:9 שְׂרִיב. שָׂרִיב occurs also in the Targum literature. In Arabic we have شَبَّ "to burn." Cf. Budde, 93.

גִּירוֹ לָכֵם מִפְּנֵי-הָרֶב כִּי מִדּוֹן שִׁדְיָן (19:29) "that a judgment is." חֲמָה עֲוֹנוֹת חָרֵב לְמַעַן יִדְעוּן שִׁדְיָן "Be ye afraid of the sword, for wrath (strikereth?) the evil-doings of the sword, that ye know that a judgment is." As the word stands, it is a compound of אֶשֶׁר = שִׁ + אֶשֶׁר. Bickell strikes out the whole verse, but Budde, p. 103, well suggests that we should think of healing before amputating. Dillm. and Ew. read שִׁדְיָן "the Almighty." Siegfr. מִדּוֹן, Merx מִדּוֹן. Hoffmann's emendation strikes us as happy. He reads שִׁדְיָן, changing only the vowels; this reading is more forcible. Aqu. has οὐ κρίσις; Targ. מִרִּי דִּינָא; LXX, unintelligibly: τοῦ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἡ ὑλῆ. שִׁ for אֶשֶׁר is used Gen. 6:3 (בְּשָׁמַם = בָּ + שִׁ + בָּ), and Judg. 5:7, עַד שִׁקְמָתִי "until that I arose;" שִׁדְיָן for "judicium" is used, e. g., Job 36:17; Prov. 20:8; 31:8. שִׁדְיָן or שִׁדְיָן may be an Aramaic compound, as כְּרִיס, Dan. 1:3, 7; Esth. 2:3, etc. Winckler, *Untersuch. z.*

altorient. Geschichte, p. 139, explains *tartan* = *turtānu*; *rabšakeh* = Assyr. *rab-šag*, and *rab-sarts* as an incorrect etymology of the Hebrews. Winckler holds that a Hebrew scholar, acquainted with the Assyrian, translated the Sumerian title *rab-šag* into Assyrian and inserted the gloss into the text. *Rab-šag* was translated *rab-ša-riš*, "who is head, chief" = "the head man." The Hebrew text gives the Assyrian letter by letter, only writing ט for š. In *ZA.*, VII, p. 174, note, *šakanakku* is not derived from *š-k-n*, but from *ša kanāki* "he who is set over the bolting" (of the gate). See *IV R.*² I, 42 *sqq.*; *šabrū* = *ša bari* = "the man of seeing;" *šangu* = *ša naki* "he who offers," etc. [This etymology of Jensen's in *ZA.*, VII, 174, is not accepted by most Assyriologists. *Šakanakku* (notice the two *k*'s!) is from √ שָׁכַן, with ending -akku, and every Assyriologist holds now that *šabrū* is not compounded with *ša*, but merely a *š* formation from *barū*; *šangū*, again, is derived from *nagū*, not *naqū*. Instances could be multiplied and authorities quoted *ad infinitum*.—W. M.-A.] שָׁדִיר is a similar formation. Budde suggests also an excellent emendation. He read יֵשׁ דִּין "that a judge is;" the יֵשׁ would lay stress on the existence of a judge.

שָׁר (15:31) "vanity;" *Kethib* for שָׂרָא. Budde, 81: "Der Schreibfehler שָׁר (nur hier!) wird durch das *Kere* verbessert. Sehr fein nimmt Perles an, dass im Texte das zur Verbesserung des Schreibfehlers bestimmte א irrtümlich an חמל in vs. 32 angefügt sei." Siegfr. reads שָׂרָא.

שׁוּלָל (12:17, 19) "disrobed." מוֹלִיד יוֹעֲצִים שׁוּלָל "he leadeth away counselors disrobed." שׁוּלָל is often found in the Old Testament, the original meaning being "to draw out;" cf. Arab. سَلَّ "to draw the sword;" Targ. שׁוּלָל *extractus*, i. e., "the babe;" also שׁוּלָה, II, whence שׁוּלָה, Arab. سَلَّ "afterbirth." שׁוּלָל does not simply mean "barefooted," as LXX and Syr. translate, but "robbed of the ensigns and royal clothing." See, however, Duhm, 69, on vss. 17, 19.

שׁוֹעֵץ (30:24; 36:19) "cry for help." שׁוֹעֵץ, שׁוֹעֵץ, and the verb שׁוֹעֵץ occur in other passages, with the same original meaning. Budde, 175: "'Oder bei seinem Verderben darob (לְהָךְ Richt. 1:13; Dan. 2:6) Geschrei [?]' ist Unsinn; unglücklich auch Hoffmann: 'Nur an einer Ruine vergreif dich nicht [אֲל תִּשְׁלַח יָד], wenn sie verderbend zu dir fleht (שׁוֹעֵץ).' Leicht und gut Bickell, Dillmann לֹא יִשְׁעֶץ. Subjekt bleibt der Ertrinkende." Also see Duhm, 144.

שָׁח (22:29) "bowed down." The verb שָׁח is frequently found in Hebrew. The form שָׁח is regular; cf. Ges., *Gram.*, § 84a, 3.

שָׁחַץ (28:8; 41:26) "highness, proudness." In the Talmud we find שָׁחַץ "the boaster," שָׁחָצוֹת "boasting," etc. שָׁחָצִים, Jos. 19:22, evidently means "heights;" Arab. شَخَص "to lift up one's self." שָׁחַץ may be an Aramaism. Duhm, 135: "בְּנֵי-שָׁחַץ 'Söhne des Stolzes,' epitheton ornans für die grösseren Raubtiere, nur noch in dem gleichfalls jungen Gedicht, Cap. 41, 26." Also cf. Budde, 159.

שָׁחַת, I or II (17:14) "decay, ruin, or grave," parallel to רָמָה "eating up by worms." As the text now stands, we expect a masc. noun in שָׁחַת. The text reads: לְשָׁחַת קְרָאתִי אָבִי אֶחָדָה אִמִּי וְאֶחָתִי לְרָמָה. "To ruin (or the pit) I say: thou art my father; to the worm: thou art my mother and sister." If שָׁחַת is a masc. noun, we must accept, with Del. and Ges., a stem שָׁחַת; but שָׁחַת, II = שָׁחַת is preferable. Then שָׁחַת is a fem. noun. Ges., *Thesaurus*, p. 1378, note, maintains that אָבִי need not necessarily be constructed with a masc. noun. Bickell strikes out, in line 1, אָבִי אֶחָדָה, and adds אִמִּי; then the verse would read: לְשָׁחַת קְרָאתִי אִמִּי וְאֶחָתִי לְרָמָה. Budde, p. 91; Duhm, 93..

שִׁכְמָה (31:22) "shoulder blade;" otherwise in Hebr. שִׁכְמָה; שִׁכְמָה probably for שִׁכְמָה; cf. Ges., *Gram.*, 91, 1, note 2. Budde, 180.

שָׁלֵאנָה (21:23) "quiet." שָׁלֵאנָה from שָׁלֵאנָה; cf. זָלָה from זָלָה. גְּמִיד from גְּמִיד, Job 3:7. A Hebrew formation. Budde, 121, says more correctly: "das ל ist nach שָׁלֵאנָה verschrieben (Olsh., Rödiger, Dillm., etc.); das letztere für שָׁלֵאנָה, 16:12;" so also Duhm, 112.

שָׁלַח, II (27:8) "to draw out." כִּי יִשָּׁל אֱלֹהֵי נַפְשִׁי "when God draws out his soul." Cf. שָׁלַח, Deut. 28:57, "afterbirth," Arab. سَلَا. Targ. מְשִׁילָא "meat fork," that which draws the meat out of the kettle; שָׁלִיכָא "a bird that catches (draws out) fish." Schnurrer reads יִשָּׁל "he recalls the soul." Budde, 150: "eher möchte man mit Dillm. nach Richter 2:16 יִשָּׁל von שָׁלֵאנָה oder יִשָּׁל von שָׁלֵאנָה (Hoffmann) punktieren; am besten wird man das Wort mit Schnurrer, Wellhausen, Siegfr. als verschrieben statt יִשָּׁל ansehen; vgl. Lk. 12:20." Also note the additional remarks of Budde on the whole verse; Duhm, 132-3.

שָׁמַר (4:12; 26:14) "whispering." Exod. 32:25, שָׁמַר "the hissing of the enemy." LXX ἐπίχαρμα; Arab. شَبَّص "to speak quickly and indistinctly."

שִׁפְרָה (26:13) "hilarity; serenity (of the sky)." The root שִׁפַּר is frequently found in the Old Testament; cf. שִׁפַּר "to rub, polish;" שִׁפָּר (Gen. 49:21) "beauty." In Aramaic שִׁפַּר "to be beautiful," Dan. 4:24, etc.; Dan. 6:20, שִׁפְרָא "dawn of day." Dillm. (*Job*, p. xxxi) considers שִׁפְרָה an Aramaism. Perhaps שִׁפְרָה is the Aramaic *st. emphat.* Giesebrecht reads שִׁפְרָה; see also Budde, p. 147, against Hoffmann, שִׁפְרָה; and compare, in addition, Duhm, 130.

שָׂרָה (37:3) "to loosen." Jer. 15:11, the *Kēl* doubtful, according to Budde. "An Aramaic word" Budde, 222.

שָׂרִיחַ (41:18) "armor, harpoon"? LXX, θώρακα, like שָׂרִיחַ, 1 Sam. 17:5, 38, etc. Del. well compares the Arab. سَرْوَة "arrow, point of arrow." An Arabism, as מִטְעַע "dart," in the same verse. Budde, 251, as well as Duhm, 200, prefer Hoffmann's emendation שָׂרִיחַ "javelin," after the Syriac.

שָׂרִיר (40:16) "muscles of the belly," with Budde, 244; Duhm, 196. Aramaism; cf. Aram. שָׂרַר "to be tight."

תִּפְלָה (4:18) "error, sin." LXX σκολιόν τι. Siegfr. emends תִּפְלָה as in 24:12. Olsh., *Gram.*, § 213c, considers תִּפְלָה as possibly an ע' form, just as תִּפְלָה for תִּפְלָה. Dillmann (p. 38) shows that in Ethiopic there is a secondary root of *ሕል*, viz., *tahala*. Cf. Arab *هَلَّ* "to err." An Arabism. See also Budde, p. 20.

תִּפְלָה (41:21) "club." LXX σφῦρα. In Arabic *فح* means "to strike with a club." Barth considers תִּפְלָה a foreign word. See, Cheyne, *Expositor*, August, 1898, 85, who reads תִּפְלָה = Assyr. *tartaḥu*, following Barth, Budde, Duhm, etc.

תִּנְחֻמֹּת (15:11; 21:2) "consolations." Cf. Hebr. נַחַם and תִּנְחֻמִּים, Isa. 66:11; Jer. 16:7, etc.

תִּפְתֵּי (17:6) "spitting," LXX γέλως; Siegfr. therefore emends: צִחֻק, "a proverb." Del. derives תִּפְתֵּי from תִּפְתֵּי "to spit;" cf. Aram. תִּפְתֵּי "to spit," and תִּפְתֵּי "that which is vomited." Arab. *تاف* "blemish." תִּפְתֵּי may be an Aramaism. Budde, 89, would read מִפְתֵּי (Ps. 71:7; Deut. 28:46) or תִּפְתֵּי as a parallel form; cf. Jerome's *exemplum*; so Perles and Beer. See also the further remarks, *ibid.*, on this verse. On the other hand, Duhm, p. 92, translates תִּפְתֵּי (from תִּפְתֵּי) by "Spei-ihn-an" = Spit-at-him.

LIVRE INTITULÉ LAISA
SUR LES EXCEPTIONS DE LA LANGUE ARABE

PAR IBN KHĀLOŪYA, DIT IBN KHĀLAWAIHI

TEXTE ARABE

PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT UNIQUE DU BRITISH MUSEUM

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III.¹

هـ باب ليس في كلام العرب فعلٌ صَحَّ من المعتد ولم يُعَدَّ
الْأَسْتَجَوَدَ وَأَغِيَمَتِ السَّمَاءُ وَأَسْتَنَوَفَ الْجَمَلُ وَأَسْتَنَيْسَتِ الشَّاةُ
وَأَغِيلَتِ الْمَرْأَةُ مِنَ الْغِيلِ وَهِيَ أَنْ تُحْمَلَ عَلَى حَيْضٍ وَذَلِكَ رَدِيءٌ
وَقَدْ يَجِيءُ فِي الشَّعْرِ كَثِيرًا صُرُورَةٌ كَمَا قَالَ
صَدَدَتِ فَأَطُولَتِ الصُّدُودَ وَقَدْ مَا وَصَالَ عَلَى طُولِ الصُّدُودِ يَدُومُ
وَأَطْيَبَتَ يَا رَجُلُ

هـ باب ليس في كلام العرب من ذوات الواو مفعولٌ خَرَجَ
عَلَى أَصْلِهِ إِلَّا فِي حَرْفَيْنِ يُقَالُ مَسَكٌ مَذُوفٌ وَثَوْبٌ مَضُورٌ وَحَرْفٌ
ثَالِثٌ قَدْ ذَكَرْتُهُ بَعْدُ إِنَّمَا وَجَبَ أَنْ يَكُونَ مَذُوفًا مِثْلَ مَقُولٍ فَأَمَّا

¹ Voyez HEBRAICA, X, pp. 88-103; *AJSL.*, XIV, pp. 81-98.

² Ms. واسميسست.

ذوات الياء فحائز ان يجيء على اصله بُرْ مَكِيدٌ وَمَكْيُولٌ وَثُوبٌ مَبِيعٌ
وَمَبْيُوعٌ وَبُسْرَةٌ مَطْيُوبَةٌ وَأَنشد [كامل]

قد كان قومك يحسبونك سيِّدا وإخال أنك سيِّدٌ معيُّون

٥٤ باب ليس في كلام العرب أَفَعَلَ فهو فعُولٌ آلا ثلاثة
احرف أنتجت الناقعة فهي تَتَوَجَّ وَأَشَصَتْ فهي شَصُوصٌ قَلَّ لبنُها
ومنه الشَّصاءُ اى الجَدْبُ والقَحْطُ وَأَعَقَّتِ الفرسُ فهي عَقُوفٌ اى
حملتٌ وحرفٌ رابعٌ قد ذكرته بعدُ

٥٥ باب ليس في كلام العرب أَفَعَلْتُ انا وفَعَلْتُ غيرى آلا
حرفٌ واحدٌ جاء نادرا لانه ضِدُّ العَرَبِيَّةِ وهو أَكَبَّ زَيْدٌ في نفسه
وَكَبَّ غَيْرَهُ قال الله عزَّ وجلَّ فَكَبَّتْ وُجُوهُهُمْ فِي النَّارِ وقال تع
أَفَمَنْ يَمْشِي مُكِبًّا عَلَى وَجْهِهِ لَانَ كَلَامَ الْعَرَبِ جَلَسَ وَأَجْلَسَ غَيْرَهُ
وَذَهَبَ زَيْدٌ وَأَذْهَبَ غَيْرَهُ وقد قيل أَقْشَعَتِ الْغُيُومُ وقَشَعَتْهَا
الريجُ وقال رسول الله صلعم وهل يَكْبُ النَّاسُ فِي النَّارِ آلا
حصائدُ أَلْسِنَتِهِمْ فقال يَكْبُ ولم يقل يَكِبُّ

٥٦ باب ليس في كلام العرب فَعَلَ وهو فَاعِلٌ آلا حرفان
فَرَّةُ الْحِمَارِ فهو فَارَةٌ وَعَقَرَتِ الْمَرْأَةُ فهي عَاتِرٌ فَاَمَّا طَهَّرَ فهو
طَاهِرٌ وَحَمَضَ فهو حَامِضٌ وَمَثَلٌ فهو مَائِلٌ فبخلاف ذلك يقال
حَمَضَ اَيْضَا وَطَهَّرَ وَمَثَلٌ

٤٩ باب ليس في كلام العرب أُنْعَلْتُ فهو مَفْعُولٌ إِلَّا أَجَنُّ
 اللَّهُ فهو مَجْنُونٌ وَأَزْكَمَ اللَّهُ فهو مَزْكُومٌ وَأَحْرَنْتُهُ فهو مَحْزُونٌ
 وَأَحْبَبْتُهُ فهو مَحْبُوبٌ وَقِيلَ مُحَبٌّ وَأَنْشَدَ
 وَلَقَدْ نَزَلَتْ فَلَا تَظُنِّي غَيْرَهُ مَنَى بِمَنْزِلَةِ الْحَبِّ الْمَكْرَمِ
 وَقَدْ قَالُوا حَبَبْتُهُ قَرَأَ أَبُو رَجَاهُ^١ فَاتَّبِعُونِي يَحْبِبْكُمْ اللَّهُ

٥٠ باب ليس في كلام العرب أَفْعَلُ صَفَةً وَالْجَمْعُ عَلَى فِعَالٍ
 إِلَّا ثَلَاثَةَ أَحْرَفٍ مِنَ الصِّفَاتِ أَجْرَبُ وَجِرَابٌ وَأَعْجَفُ وَعِجَافٌ وَأَبْطَمُ
 وَبِطَاحٌ

٥١ باب ليس في كلام العرب مصدرٌ عَلَى تَفْعَلَةٍ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ
 وَاحِدٌ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى: وَلَا تُلْقُوا بِأَيْدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَّهْلُكَةِ وقد جاء
 تَهْلُوكُهُ أَيْضًا أَنْشَدَنَا أَبُو عَمْرٍو عَنْ ثَعْلَبٍ عَنْ ابْنِ الْأَعْرَابِيِّ [رَجَزًا]
 شَبِيبُ عَادَى اللَّهُ مِنْ يَفْلِيكََا وَسَبَبَ اللَّهُ لَهُ تَهْلُوكَا
 يَا بَابِي أَرْوَا حُ نَشْرِ فَيْكََا كَانَتْ وَهَنَا لِمَنْ يَذْنِيكََا
 رُبُّ خُرَامِي وَلِي الرُّكِيكََا

الرُّكْهُ والرُّكِيكُ والرُّكَاكُ المطر الضعيف وبه شُبَّة الرُّكِيكِ
 والرُّكَاكَةُ مِنَ النَّاسِ الضُّعَفَاءِ

٥٢ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسم على سِتَّةِ أَحْرَفٍ إِنَّمَا
 أَكْثَرُ مَا يَكُونُ عَلَى خَمْسَةِ بِلَا زِيَادَةٍ إِلَّا اسْمٌ وَاحِدٌ قَبَعْتَرَى وَهُوَ

^١ Coran, III, 29.^٢ Coran, II, 191.

الجمد العَخمُ وقيل الفَصِيلُ المَهْزُولُ وقد بلغ بالزوائد ثمانية
 أَشْهَابُ الفَرْسِ أَشْهِيَابَا واقُلُّ ما يكون الاسمُ على ثلاثةٍ والفعلُ
 أَكْثَرُ ما يكون على أربعةٍ فمتى وَجَدْتَهَا اقُلُّ من ثلاثةٍ فقد
 نَقَصَ مِنْهُ حَرْفٌ أو حَرَفَانِ وقد وَجَدْتُ حَرْفًا آخَرَ في فلان
 عَفْجَجِيَّةٌ مُشْنَعَةٌ^١ اى حَمَاقَةٌ ثمانية احرَف

٩٣ باب ليس في كلام العرب رَجُلٌ أَفْعَلُ وفِعْلٌ آلا أَرَمَدُ
 وَرَمَدُ وَأَحْمَفُ وَحِمَفُ وَثَوْبٌ أَخْشَنُ وَخَشِنٌ وَأَحْدَبُ وَحَدِبٌ وَأَبْجٌ
 وَبَحْمٌ ولا يقال بَاحٌ وَأَنْكَدُ وَنَكِدُ وَأَوْجَلُ وَوَجِلُ وَأَقْعَسُ وَفَعِسُ
 وَأَشَعْتُ وَشَعْتُ وَأَجَرُبُ وَجَرِبُ وَأَجَدَعُ وَجَدَعُ

٩٤ باب ليس في كلام العرب مفعولٌ على فِعِلٍ آلا حَرْفٌ
 واحدٌ غِلامٌ جَدِعُ اى قد أُسِيَ غِذاؤُهُ وَأَنْشَدَ [منسرح]
 وذاتِ هِدْمٍ عَارٍ نَوَاشِرُهَا تُصَيِّتُ بِالماءِ تَوَلَّبا جَدِعا
 يقال غِلامٌ جَدِعٌ وَمُقَرَّمٌ وَمَزَلَجٌ وَشَعِلٌ مثل جَدِعٍ فقد صا.
 حَرْفَيْنِ فاذا أَحْسِنَ غِذاؤُهُ قِيلَ مُسْرَهْدٌ وَمُسْرَهْفٌ

٩٥ باب لم نجد صفةً على فاعِلٍ للبالغة آلا في حرفَيْنِ
 رَجُلٌ جَامِلٌ بمعنى جَمِيلٍ وَرَجُلٌ ظَارِفٌ بمعنى ظَرِيفٍ وَالْجَيِّدُ أَنْ
 تقول رَجُلٌ ظَرِيفٌ في الحال وَظَارِفٌ عن قَلِيلٍ وَمَيِّتٌ في الحال
 وَمَاتٌ عن قَلِيلٍ وَغَضَبَانٌ في الحال وَغَاضِبٌ عن قَلِيلٍ ويقال

^١ Ms. عَفْجَجِيَّةٌ مُشْنَعَةٌ.

رجل طَرِيفٌ وطَرَّافٌ وطَرَّافٌ كما يقال رجل وكلٌ فَعِيلٌ جائزٌ فيه ثلاث لغاتٍ فَعِيلٌ وفَعَالٌ وفَعَالٌ رجلٌ طَوِيلٌ وإذا زاد طولهُ قلت طَوَّالٌ فإذا زاد طولهُ قلت طَوَّالٌ وفي القرآن^١ إِنَّ هَذَا لَشَيْءٌ عُجَابٌ وعُجَابٌ وفيه ايضا: وَمَكَرُوا مَكْرًا كَبَّارًا وكَبَّارًا قراءةُ ابي حَنِصِنِ الْمَكِّيِّ

٩٩ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسمٌ ممدودٌ جُمِعَ مقصورا إلا ثمانية أحرف وهن مَحْرَاءٌ ومَحَارَى وعَدْرَاءٌ وعَدَارَى وصلَفَاءٌ وصلَافَى اَرْضٌ غَلِيظَةٌ وخَبْرَاءٌ وخَبَارَى اَرْضٌ فِيهَا نُدُوٌّ وسَبْتَاءٌ وسَبَاتَى اَرْضٌ فِيهَا خُشُونَةٌ وَوَحْفَاءٌ وَوَحَافَى اَرْضٌ فِيهَا حِجَارَةٌ وَنَبْخَاءٌ وَنَبَاحَى وَنَفْخَاءٌ وَنَفَاحَى لَانِ الْمَدُودَ يَجْمَعُ عَلَى أَنْفَعَةٍ رِدَاءٌ وَأَرْدِيَّةٌ وَالْمَقْصُورُ يَجْمَعُ مَدُودًا رَحًا وَأَرْحَاءَ وَقَفًا وَأَقْفَاءَ وَيَا غُلَامُ خُذْ بِأَقْفَانِهِمْ

٩٧ باب ليس في كلام العرب كلمة فيها اربع لغات لغتان بالهمز ولغتان بغير همز إلا اربعة احرف وهن أَوَمَاتٌ اليه وَوَمَاتٌ وَأَوَمِيَتْ وَوَمِيَتْ وَصَنَاتِ الْمَرْأَةِ وَصَنَتْ كَثْرَ وَلَدِهَا وَأَصْنَأَتْ وَأَصْنَعَتْ وَرَمَعَ يَزْنِي وَيَزْنَى وَيَزَانِي وَأَزَانِي والحرف الرابع قُلِيبٌ وَهَمِرَتْ اللغاتُ الاربعُ وهو فلانُ ابنُ ثَدَاءٍ وَثَدَاءٌ وَدَأْنَاءٌ وَدَأْنَاءٌ إذا كان

^١ Coran, XXXVIII, 4.^٢ Coran, LXXI, 21.^٣ Ma. جُدْ.

ابن أمة يقال للأمة حمراء الحجان والبغية والفرتنا ومدينة وقينة
وسرية وكريئة اذا كانت مغنية

٩٨ باب ليس في كلام العرب مصدر على فعلاي بجزم
العين الا حرفان شئنته شئنا وزدته أزيدنا لان المصادر
على هذا تجيء على فعلاي الجولان والنزوان على انه قد قيل
شئنته اذا أبغضته شئاً وشئاً وشئاً وشئاً وشئاً ومشيئة
قال الله تع^١ إن شأنتك هو الأبتى اى لا ولد له منقطع الذكر
وقال تع^٢ ولا يجرمكم شأن قوم

٩٩ باب ليس في كلام العرب ما جاء على تفعالي وفعلالي
الا قولهم تملقته تيلقا قال [طويل]

ثلاثة أحباب فحب خلافة وحب تيلق وحب هو القتل
فقلت لأعرابي زدني فقال البيت يتيم اى فرد فاذا أفرد الولد
عن ابيه فهو يتيم واليتيم في البهائم من قبل الأمات وأمات جمع
أم مما لا يعقل وأمها من يعقل وقد يجوز أمات فيمن يعقل
أنشد ابو عبيد [واخر]

لقد آليت أعدر في خداع ولو متيت أمات الرباع
يجوز ان يكون اليتيم في الطير من قبل الاب والام لانهما جميعا
يزقان ويلقمان وفي الجراد منها ايضا لانه يغرز البيض ويطير

¹ Coran, CVIII, 3.

² Coran, V, 3 et 11.

³ Ms. أحبار.

ولا يُنَمَّ بعد البلوغ والحجى في البهائم مثل اليتيم في الناس وأرملته^١
يتيم أى منفردة ودرّة اليتيم مغفول عنه وقد ذكرته بعد ومثل
التبلى والتقطاع والتنتال وتكلام وتلقاع وتينقام والتجلاط الياسمين
وان شئت الياسمين وجهنم البئر البعيدة القعر وبذلك سميّت
جهنم فاما الشاعر الذى كان يهاجى الأعشى فيقال جهنم

٧٠ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسم على فعلى إلا كلتا عند
الجرمى وعند سيبويه انما هو كلوى فعلى فانقلبت الواو تاء كما
يقال تالمة والاصل والله عند الكوفيين كلتا تثنية كلت والدليل
على أنه واحد أن العرب تقول كلتا المرأتين قائمة ولا يقال
قائمتان إلا في شذوذ وقال الله تع كلتا الجنة آتت أكلها
ولم يقل آتتا

٧١ باب ليس في كلام العرب ثلاثة أسماء صيرن اسما
واحدا إلا حرف واحد وهو قولهم فرأت بادقلى حكاة الفراء وكان
ابن الحيات يتعجب من ذلك انما تجعل الاسمين واحدا مثل
خمسة عشر وحضرموت وبعلبك وهو جارى بيت بيت ونحو ذلك

٧٢ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسم على فعلة ولا صفة
جُمعت على فواعل إلا حرف واحد يقال ليلة طلقة لا حسر فيها
ولا قمر ولا ظلمة وليال طوائف على فواعل وانما فواعل جمع لفاعلة

^١ ورملته.

^٢ Coran, XVIII, 31.

طَالِقَةٌ وَطَوَالِفٌ وَآمَرَةٌ صَالِحَةٌ طَالِحَةٌ قَانِتَةٌ فَإِذَا جُمِعَتْ جَمَعَ السَّلَامَةُ
 قِيلَ طَالِحَاتٌ صَالِحَاتٌ قَانِتَاتٌ وَإِذَا جُمِعَتْ جَمَعَ التَّكْسِيرُ^١ قُلْتُ
 صَوَالِحُ طَوَالِحُ قَوَانِتُ قَرَأَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مَسْعُودٍ^٢ فَالْصَّوَالِحُ قَوَانِتُ
 حَوَافِظُ لِلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ^٣ وَقَرَأَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ بْنُ يَزِيدَ بْنِ
 الْقَعْقَاعِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ بِالْفَتْحِ وَمَعْنَاهُ وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ عَلَى حَذْفِ
 الْمِضَافِ أَيْ حَفِظُوا دِينَ اللَّهَ

٧٣ باب ليس في كلام العرب فَعَلٌ وَفَعَلَةٌ إِلَّا تِسْعَةُ أَحْرَفٍ
 لِدُّلٌ وَالِدِلَّةٌ وَالْقُدُّ وَالْقِلَّةُ وَالْعُدْرُ وَالْعِدْرَةُ وَالنُّعْمُ وَالنِّعْمَةُ وَالنُّحْلُ
 وَالنَّحْلَةُ وَالنَّخْبَرُ وَالنَّجْبَةُ وَالْحُكْمُ وَالْحِكْمَةُ وَالْبُغْضُ وَالْبِغْضَةُ وَالْقُرُّ وَالْقِرَّةُ
 وَحَرْفٌ عَاشِرٌ الشُّخُّ وَالشِّخَّةُ وَهُوَ غَرِيبٌ

٧٤ باب ليس في كلام العرب وَاحِدٌ يَوْصَفُ بِجَمْعٍ إِلَّا قَوْلُهُمْ
 ثَوْبٌ أَسْبَلُ أَيْ خَلَقَ وَأَمَّا جَارُ ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّهُ يُعْنَى بِهِ أَنَّهُ قَدْ
 تَخَرَّقَ مِنْ جَوَانِبِهِ صَارَ جَمْعًا وَثَوْبٌ أَكْيَاشٌ غَلِيظٌ وَبُرْمَةٌ
 أَكْسَارٌ وَقَدْرٌ أَعْشَارٌ وَقَمِيصٌ أَخْلَافٌ وَأَنْشُدْ [رَجَزًا]

جاء الشتاء وقميصي أخلاف شراذم يفتحك مني التَّوَاتُفُ
 التَّوَاتُفُ ابْنُهُ فَمَا الْوَاحِدُ يُوَدِّي عَنْ الْجَمْعِ فَكَثِيرٌ مِثْلُ قَوْلِهِمْ خَتَمَ
 اللَّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهِمْ وَعَلَى سَمْعِهِمْ وَإِنْ أَنْكَرَ الْأَصْوَاتِ لَصَوْتُ الْحَمِيرِ
 وَكَقَوْلِهِ أَوْ الْطِفْلِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَظْهَرُوا عَلَى عَوْرَاتِ النِّسَاءِ يَرِيدُ

^١ Ms. جمعت جمعت التكسير.

^٢ Coran, IV, 38.

^٣ Coran, II, 6.

^٤ Coran, XXXI, 18.

^٥ Coran, XXIV, 31.

الأطفال وقال^١ وَالْمَلَكُ عَلَى أَرْجَائِهَا يريد الملائكة والأرجاء النواحي
 والواحد رَجًا وقال ابو ذؤيب
 [كامل]
 فالعينُ بَعْدَهُمْ كَأَنَّ حِدَابَهَا سِيلَتْ بِشَوْكِ فَهِيَ عُرٌّ تَذْمَعُ
 ذكر الواحد ثم جمع الحِداق هذا كثير في كلام العرب ووجدتُ
 حرفا غريبا قَرَبَةً أَشْنَانٌ مِثْلُ ثَوْبٍ أَسْمَالٍ

^١ *Coran*, LIX, 17.

ANOTHER EDITION OF THE HEBREW ECCLESIASTICUS.¹

BY THE REV. HOPE W. HOGG,

Oxford, England.

Quite a literature has gathered round the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus since its publication in February, 1897—though the daily press did not realize its importance (the *Times*, for example, not even reviewing it).² There have appeared no less than four other editions (two in Germany and two in France), in addition to the cheap reprint of the English translation published by the Clarendon Press. Of the two which have been noticed in these pages (April, 1897, pp. 211-19)³ one, that of Smend, embodied the results of a collation not only of the original photographs, but also of the original MS., for the carrying out of which all praise is due to Professor Smend for his enterprise and his careful work, as well as to those in the Bodleian Library, who generously afforded him such facilities as were necessary for the successful carrying out of his undertaking. The same praise is due to the edition of M. Lévi, which we are now to consider.

¹ L'ECCLESIASTIQUE ou La Sagesse de Jésus, Fils de Sira. Texte original hébreu, édité, traduit et commenté par Israel Lévi, Maître de conférences à l'école des hautes études (Section des sciences religieuses) = Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études. Sciences religieuses, X^e volume, fasc. premier. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte, 1898. Paper. lvii + 149 pp.; 8vo.

² Of the many reviews of the *editio princeps* of Cowley-Neubauer may, perhaps, be singled out (without offense), as of special value, the two notices of Smend (*Theol. Lit.-Zeitung*, March 20 and May 15, 1897), and the reviews, in April, of Perles (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*); in May, of Fraenkel (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*), of Mayer Lambert (*Journal asiatique*), and of Nöldeke (*Expositor*); and, in July, of Bacher (*Jewish Quarterly Review*). In addition to reviews, there have appeared, besides notes on special points by different scholars (Bevan, Gray, D. S. Margoliouth, D. H. Müller, etc.), several extensive studies of the whole series of questions raised by the recovery of the Hebrew text. Such are the elaborate and valuable articles of M. Jules Touzard, Professeur d'Écriture sainte et d'Hébreu au Séminaire Saint-Sulpice (*Revue biblique*, Vol. VI, 271-82, 547-73 [1897]; VII, 33-58 [1898]), since published as a volume (*L'original Hébreu de l'Ecclesiastique*, Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1898, pp. 78, 8vo); the notes of Ludwig Blau (*Revue des études juives*, Vol. XXXV, 19-29 [July-Sept., 1897]), and a series of articles (*Revue des études juives*, Vol. XXXIV, 1-50, 294-6; XXXV, 29-47 [both 1897]), by the author of the volume under review. [Attention is called to the former contributions on this subject by Mr. Hope W. Hogg, in the *Expository Times*, March, 1897, pp. 262-7, and *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol. I, 777-86; also to the summary of recent literature by Professor Levis, *American Journal of Theology*, II, 210-12; and review of Cowley-Neubauer, by Professor Ira M. Price, in this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, pp. 49-50.—THE EDITOR.]

³ Professor Price's review of Smend, *Das hebräische Fragment der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, and Schlatter, *Das neu gefundene Hebräische Stück des Sirach*.

The book is a serviceable one. An introduction of fifty-three pages (v–lvii) discusses the problems solved or raised by the recovery of the text. In the body of the book (pp. 2–149) the upper part of the left-hand page gives the Hebrew text as M. Lévi has deciphered it, and the upper part of the opposite page a translation in French, while the lower (and larger) part of each page is devoted to a critical commentary, chiefly of a textual nature.

There is much that is interesting in the introduction. Many points that we had marked for notice must be excluded. We may pass over what is said of the oft-written history of the fragments (the still unwritten part of the story is romantic, but the time for telling it is not yet at hand) and of the appearance of the MS. (details must still be sought in Cowley-Neubauer and Smend), and come at once to what the author has to say of the remarkable marginal notes which are one of its most interesting features (pp. xi–xviii). Some of these notes, he says, are simply the copyist's corrections of his own mistakes: over a dozen of such are indicated (marked with an *A*) in the commentary. In many more cases, however, a second exemplar has furnished another hand with various readings—sometimes mere synonyms, sometimes distinct readings modifying the sense. Of these distinct readings M. Lévi gives a list of some eighty (pp. xii–xv). When, as in a majority of cases, the readings of the text and those of the margin, though distinct, can be traced to the same source, the original has generally been better preserved on the margin, though it contains also readings that give no sense at all (p. xv). Comparing the really distinct readings with the Greek and the Syriac versions, our author comes to the conclusion that there were, probably before the third century A. D., at least two distinct recensions of the Hebrew text, represented by the text and the margin, respectively, of our MS. (p. xvi). These, however, are to be traced back to a common source already somewhat modified from the original (p. xvi). In explanation of the presence on the margin of more than one variant recorded in the same handwriting, M. Lévi assumes, not that the copyist who recorded them had more than one additional MS. before him, but that the several variants are (his?) repeated attempts to decipher a single ill-preserved original.

The mere explanatory glosses are for the most part in Aramaic or late Hebrew (p. xvii), and words quoted from the context are

frequently abbreviated. Sometimes, however (though rarely—only two cases being cited), the abbreviations represent some word other than that in our own present text. M. Lévi does not point out what this seems to imply, viz., that the reading is cited, not from the text, but from the margin of another MS. Moreover, he expressly declines to draw any conclusion (as M. Touzard has done) from the fact that, after the point at which, as the copyist himself tells us, the main source of the marginal notes was exhausted, we have a gloss agreeing with the Greek (p. xviii).

We need hardly say anything of the nature of the proof that has convinced M. Lévi (in spite of the initial skepticism of his brief notice in the *Revue des études juives*, April–June, 1896, Vol. XXXII, 303 sq.), to which he naturally does not refer, and others that our Hebrew fragment is not a translation, but an original (pp. xviii sq.). He is tempted, however, to conjecture, as Blass does in the case of Acts, that the author himself may have revised his own work (p. xx).

The language used by Ben Sira M. Lévi describes as biblical, but crammed (*farcie*) with Aramaic and Rabbinic modes of expression. He concludes that Hebrew was still in common use when Ben Sira wrote. The many misinterpretations of the younger Ben Sira, he argues, imply, not that he did not know Hebrew, but (from their occurring, for the most part, in passages resembling, or founded on, earlier writers) that the older Hebrew was not so well known to him as that of his own time—a thesis to which M. Lévi is constantly returning. He regards this as a serious difficulty in the way of assigning certain of the Old Testament writings to a very late date. He argues that the mixed classical and unclassical style of a well-educated man like Ben Sira makes it unsafe to assume that other writers could avoid betraying themselves in the same way. On this, however, two remarks may be made: firstly, it is one thing to write a large, independent treatise, and it is a very different thing to insert a few sentences in some other man's work; and, secondly, is not M. Lévi coming very near erecting a fortress in order to have the satisfaction of demolishing it? It is surely misleading to speak of criticism bringing down "Job and Proverbs" to the time of Ben Sira—if by that is meant the second century B. C.—and is Ben Sira more or less unclassical than Chronicles or Ecclesiastes?

In another respect M. Lévi sees an advance on the Old Testament writers also—in the ordering of the subject-matter and in the free use of titles of sections (p. xxv).⁴ He may rather unduly accent the features that distinguish Ecclesiasticus from other Old Testament writings; but it is perhaps well that attention should be directed to such points, since, with most who have written on the subject, the emphasis has naturally been laid on the other side.

On the question of the date of Ben Sira, M. Lévi's theory naturally makes it easy for him to meet the objection to the received view urged by M. Halévy, who demands a considerable interval of time between the composition and the translation of the book to account for the misunderstanding of the translator.

Passing over what is said of the bearing of Ecclesiasticus on the history of the canon, which limits of space forbid our discussing, we note that M. Lévi points out the agreement, in the main, of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament writings used by Ben Sira with the present Massoretic text. With reference, however, to the case adduced by him, where Ben Sira seems to follow the *Kêre* in preference to the *Kêthib*, M. Lévi seems to go too far when he infers that there was already a Massoretic tradition: Ben Sira may have been following, not a tradition, but a text.

We cannot stay to speak of M. Lévi's suggestive discussion of the famous panegyric (chaps. 44–49)—note in particular the theory of 44:3–9 (pp. xxxix and 82), but must hasten on to what he has to say of the versions. After making allowance for corruption of the Greek text in the course of transmission, Lévi finds that in some seventy-eight cases the translator has misread his original (pp. xlii–xliv), that in some cases he has misheard it (pp. xlv sq.), that he has repeatedly misresolved abbreviated forms, inverted the arrangement of words, and even shown his imperfect command of classical Hebrew by translating the first member of a construct phrase as a genitive. But, surely, any one of these blunders might be already present in the Hebrew MS. used by the translator (in the last case a simple accidental inversion of the order of two Hebrew words would explain his apparent blunder). When M. Lévi asks what way he learned of the

⁴ He also makes something of the abandonment of anonymity.

condition of the Septuagint at the time of the younger Ben Sira, he does well not to attach too much importance to some resemblances in the Greek translation (note, however, that most of them are in passages omitted in the Septuagint) to certain phrases in the Greek Pentateuch (p. xlix). With regard to the very interesting verse 49:7b, the close agreement of which with Jer. 1:10 is pointed out on p. 146, it should be noted that, in the Hebrew, it is not divided into hemistichs, and in the Septuagint it is omitted altogether.

In the section devoted to the Syriac version (p. l), after urging the critical treatment of its text (p. li), and enumerating passages where the translator shows, by misreading it, that his original was Hebrew (pp. l sq.), M. Lévi makes some interesting suggestions as to the many lacunæ of the Syriac. Certain differences in the character of different parts he explains by supposing that the version is the work of several hands; down to the end of chap. 42 the translation carefully follows the Hebrew; 43:1-10 (which is all S. has of chap. 43) is a piece translated from the Greek;⁵ from chap. 44 onward the translation becomes less faithful; finally the whole has been revised and brought into close agreement with the Greek.

What we have said shows that M. Lévi has made a useful contribution to the critical study of Ecclesiasticus. His defense of the readings on the margin is in striking contrast to the depreciatory estimate of Smend, who describes them as *meistens werthlos*. Fraenkel (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. XI, 96) takes a medium course, urging that, where the margin gives an older or a rarer word than the word in the text, the latter is an interpretation, while D. H. Müller (*ibid.*, pp. 103 sq.) urges the converse.

Whether Lévi is justified in his estimate of the Hebrew of Ben Sira is doubtful. He seems to exaggerate, being, perhaps, tempted to do so by his theory of the deviations of the Greek.

Having said so much of the first part of Lévi's work, we have little room to deal with the second. This is naturally much more technical. The text and commentary are a careful and discriminating piece of work. The text is, as in the case of the *editio*

⁵ So Fraenkel in his review of Cowley-Neubauer in the *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judenthums*, Vol. 41, 384 (May, 1897), who suggests that the passage (he says vs. 8-10) may have been inserted later to fill up the lacuna. So also Schlatter, p. 5.

princeps, that of the MS.: doubtful letters are overlined; purely conjectural restorations of lacunæ are in brackets; proposed emendations are reserved for the notes. The purpose of the author differs, therefore, fundamentally from that of Halévy, who describes his object as being to restore the Hebrew "sous la forme qu'il devait revêtir à l'époque où il servit de base aux versions grecque et syriaque." There is room for all workers. The great agreement between the texts of the *editio princeps*, of Smend, and of Lévi gives confidence that a strong foundation is being laid on which to rest such hypothetical constructions as Halévy's. On the other hand, the fact that the Oxford editors have accepted some of Smend's readings in place of their own, and have admitted the uncertainty of others of those challenged by him, shows the positive gain of such laborious work. M. Lévi frankly discusses suggestions of other scholars when they appear to him to merit such attention, and his notes are useful for a study of the versions, though they hardly lend themselves easily to a general account. The author's critical judgments will be valuable, even where they are not accepted. We have already had occasion to refer to the brief introductions to the different sections. They show careful work. On p. 62, however, as we may note in closing, there seems to be a lack of clearness of view in the representation that "néologismes" abound in chap. 43, and that, therefore, the Greek translator has gone astray. Has not M. Lévi told us that it is the "néologismes" that the translator understood best? Or does he mean a different translator?

The printing of the volume is accurate—such misprints as we have noted being rarely of a kind to mislead anyone—and the type is clear.

We shall welcome with interest the second half of M. Lévi's work. Meanwhile all who are interested in the subject, as any real student of the Old Testament must be, are eagerly awaiting the appearance of the late Cambridge fragments—detached pieces of earlier chapters of the book^{*}—the text of which is, we believe, now in type.

Mention may, perhaps not inappropriately, be made here of an interesting fact to which my friend Dr. Neubauer has very kindly

^{*}The leaf immediately following the fragments discovered in 1896 was published by Dr. Schechter in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. X, 191 sq. (1896). It contains Ecclus. 40:12—50:22.

called my attention. From a passage in Harkavy's edition of "Responsen der Geonim, zumeist aus dem X.-XI. Jahrhundert" (*Studien und Mittheilungen aus der Kaiserlichen Oeffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*: Vierter Theil, Erstes Heft, p. 145, l. 13) it appears that, in the tenth-eleventh century, of several works entitled דברי מוסר, there was one known as דברי מוסר בן סירא. This may, accordingly, be the real Hebrew title of the work.⁷

⁷ Cf. the remark in Cowley-Neubauer, p. ix, note 4.

ON THE MEANING OF THE WORD "ASĪTU."

By REV. CHARLES BOUTFLOWER,

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Much difference of opinion has prevailed among Assyriologists as to the meaning of the interesting word *asitu*, *isitu*, plur. *asaiâte* and *asitâte*, variously rendered "column," "gate-post," "wall," "pyramid," "artificial mound." Of these different renderings "column" is perhaps the most popular, and yet, as is well pointed out by Professor Morris Jastrow in *HEBRAICA*, July, 1888, the sense of "column" scarcely tallies with what we gather from the inscriptions respecting an Assyrian *asitu*.

The word *asitu* as met with in the inscriptions occurs chiefly in connection with the horrible atrocities committed by some of the Assyrian kings on their captives. But in one instance the word is used simply as an architectural term to express some part of the fortifications of a city. The passage to which I allude occurs in the famous inscription of Tiglathpileser I., col. vi, 27, *Dûrašu rabâ u asaiâtešu ša agurri ana napâli aḫ-bašumma*. Here Sayce renders the word "gate-posts," Winckler "pillars;" but I shall endeavor to show that the right rendering is "towers." The city possessed one main line of fortifications, *dûru*, in which, according to the usual plan of defence, were several *asaiâte* or "towers." The passage should, therefore, be rendered: "Its great wall and *towers* of baked brick I ordered to be razed." In the Hebrew Bible we meet with the word once, Jer. 50:15, *אֲשִׁיּוּרֶיהָ* (*Kere*), and it is evident from the context that it is used in exactly the same sense as in the above extract from Tiglathpileser. "Shout against her," i. e., against Babylon, "she hath given her hand, her *towers* are fallen, her walls are thrown down." Here we seem to be gazing at some scene on the Assyrian bas-reliefs, where persons are seen standing on the walls and towers of besieged cities with one or both hands held up in front of the face in token of submission.

In the next place it will be found that the sense "tower" agrees well with the description of an *asitu* as given by

Assurnatsirpal in one of those recitals of horrors in which some of the Assyrian monarchs seem to have gloried. The passage to which I refer is found in the *Standard Inscription*, col. i, 89. It describes the atrocities perpetrated on the subjects of a certain Aziel, ruler of a small kingdom on the middle Euphrates. Asitu ina puṭ abulliṣu arṣip, (amēlu) rabūti ammar ibbal-ḫitūni akuṣu, maškiṣunu asitu uḫallip, annūte ina libbi isite umagig, annūte ina eli isite ina (iṣu) ziḫipē uzaḫip, annūte battubatte ša asite ina ziḫipi urakkas, "I built an asitu at the entrance to his city gate: the chief men, as many as had rebelled against me, I flayed, (and) covered the asitu with their skins. Some I walled up within the asitu, others I impaled on stakes upon the asitu, others (again) I fixed on stakes around the asitu." From this very full description, as well as from a parallel passage on the *Monolith* of Shalmaneser, col. ii, 53, it appears that an asitu was something built up; broad enough for the skins of vanquished foes to be stretched upon it; hollow, so that persons could be immured within it; large enough and strong enough for impaled corpses to be set up on the top of it; and, further, that in the present instance it stood alone, surrounded with a ghastly ring of victims. All these indications point to "tower" as the right meaning of the word.

But here the question arises, Did the Assyrians actually build towers in order to adorn them with moldering remains of their foes? It appears that they did. In many cases, no doubt, they were content to garnish and deck out the fortifications of captured cities and fortresses with the heads of their brave defenders, but in some instances the spirit of revenge went farther, and a tower or towers were built, confronting the captured stronghold to be adorned with the heads, and sometimes also with the bodies and skins, of the vanquished. In proof of this assertion I would call attention to plates F, 4 and 5, in Pinches' valuable work, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Gates of Balawat*. On these plates we see depicted in two horizontal bands the campaign of Shalmaneser II., in 855 B. C., against Uburu, a city of the chieftain Ilu-Khita. This city, which stands on very rugged ground, is represented in the upper band as being besieged by the Assyrians, while archers stationed on the towers endeavor to repel the foe. In the lower band, and just underneath, we are

shown what appears to be a second representation of the same city, though the details of the fortifications are not in all respects the same. The city has now been captured, and its walls are seen to be deserted, but just outside the town and on the spectator's left hand a new feature is introduced into the scene, to wit, a tower standing by itself, and architecturally an exact copy of some of the towers in the city wall. This tower is adorned down one side with a double row of heads. On the same side and close by stands a post, *zaḱipu*, adorned with a single row of heads. In this tower, then, we have a veritable *asītu*, and the manner of its adornment illustrates an oft-recurring expression on the *Mono-lith* of Shalmaneser II., *asītu ša ḱaḱḱadi*, "a tower of heads," i. e., a tower garnished with the heads of the foe. See col. i, 16, 25, 34, 48, and ii, 53.

The word *asītu* being thus used, first of the towers in the wall of a city, then of similar towers adorned with the heads and bodies of the slain, appears to have gained from this latter the more general sense of "trophy," and to have been applied to any ghastly monument of human remains, whether constructed on the framework of a tower or otherwise. Thus in the inscription of Assurnatsirpal, col. i, 64, we read *ḱaḱḱadišunu unḱiṣ ana asīte arṣip*, "I cut off their heads, I built them up for a trophy," and again in i, 109, *pagrišunu ana asītāte arṣip*.

As to the different meanings acquired by the word in the cognate languages, it is not difficult to conjecture how they may have arisen. Thus, from the frequency with which *asaiāte*, or "towers," are seen depicted in lines of fortification as represented on the bas-reliefs, we can understand how the word came to have in the Talmudic the sense of "wall." Again, from the comparative slenderness of some of these *asaiāte* and their column-like appearance may have come the Arabic meaning "pillar." The fact that the word appears written in Hebrew with a ך, but in Assyrian with a simple *s*, is, perhaps, an indication that the Assyrians borrowed the term from the Aramean. See Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 46. The existence of a root *asû*, signifying "to help, support," seems still doubtful. See Muss-Arnolt's *Assyrian Dictionary*, pp. 74, 84. But supposing such a root to have existed, the *asaiāte*, or "towers," in the defences of a city must have been so called as being "helps" or "supports" to the wall.

Contributed Notes.

I. JUDAH MONIS.

[A postscript to *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, pp. 217 *seqq.*]

Although Judah Monis, M.A., was, probably, the first officially appointed professor of Hebrew at an American university, he seems to have had a predecessor at Harvard, in the person of Michael Wigglesworth, who in his day-book, under date of August 29, 1653, enters the following plaintive note: "My pupils all came to me this day to desire they might cease learning Hebrew; I withstood it with all the reason I could, yet all will not satisfy them. Thus am I requited for my love, and thus little fruit of all my prayers and tears for their good." [*Vide* Professor R. Gottheil, "Semitic Languages at Columbia," in *Columbia University Bulletin*, March, 1898, No. xix, p. 92.] Strangely enough, this personage is not even alluded to in the various historical records consulted by the writer in the preparation of his paper. Since the publication of the same, he has been fortunate in obtaining from the splendid collection of oriental MSS. belonging to Elkan N. Adler, Esq., of London, a valuable MS. containing the Hebrew epitaphs of the Jews of Venice, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. These were edited, in part, by Dr. A. Berliner, a few years ago, under the title, "לחות אבנים" (Frankfurt a. M., 1881), but the greater bulk still remains to be published.

On p. 217 of my paper I stated that the name *Monis* is very rare, if not unique, and that his nativity is, as yet, unfixed. I am now in the position to refer to two personages bearing that name, who, it might be assumed, were closely related to our Harvard Hebraist. The epitaphs merit reproduction in full, as historic clues. No. 360, on p. 96b of the MS. runs thus:

[1642

Epitaph of Esther, wife of Jacob Monis.]

מצבת קבורת הצנועה מרת אסתר תנצב"ה
אשת הנעלה כהר יעקב מוניס
הנק יפה וצבית חן
חכמת נשים ופאר בעליך
מות הסיר הרים השליך
הדרת ראשך צדק מכתיר:
מכון שבתך אם תוך רמה
אל תגורי, כי רע ומר

תחת צלי האל יאמר
גם אנכי אסתֵר אסתֵר:
[anno 5402] בֵּת אֵיִר הַתֵּב נִפְטָרָה יוֹם ד'

On the margin one of the owners (possibly Rev. Dr. Michael Sachs, of Berlin, who has copiously annotated the MS. throughout) had written "Ester Munis" (*sic*).

[1644

Epitaph of Abraham Monis (MS., p. 100a, No. 373).]

פֶּה שֶׁר גְּדוֹל אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל
רוֹדֵף צֶדֶק כָּל לֵב הוֹמֵד
אוֹמֵן אֱמֻן אִישׁ הַגּוֹאֵל
טוֹב לְכָל וְלֹהֲטִיב לוֹמֵד
עַתָּה דָּת [anno 5404] וְדִין הָאֵל הוֹאֵל
אֵיִר יוֹם אֲנִי גִּיפּוֹר הַשְּׂמֵד
חוֹךְ בֵּן עֵדֶן לִשְׁנֵי הָאֵל
אֲבֵרָהֶם עֲדָנִי שִׂמְד
הָיָה הִקָּר נִכְבֵּד וּמֵאֵר נִעְלָה כְּהֵר אֲבֵרָהֶם
מוֹנִישׁ תִּנְצֵבָה

The margin has "Abramo Munis. 1644, 17 Ijar." There is a clever play on the letters of his name in line 3. It is just barely possible that in the persons of Abraham Monis († 1644) and Esther Monis († 1642) we have the relatives of the first American-Hebrew grammarian, Judah Monis, M.A., who was born in 1683 and died in 1764.

P. S.—After the above note was in type, I learn that a chair in Semitics was instituted at Harvard College already in 1640, only four years after Harvard was called into existence. Instruction was given in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac. In a paper entitled *New England's First Fruits* (1643) [cited by Rev. Wm. Rosenau in his article on "Semitic Studies in American Colleges," in *Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis* for 1896 = 5656, Cincinnati, 1897, p. 101], we read:

"The fifth day the Rector reads Hebrew and the Eastern tongues:
"Grammer (*sic*) to the first year, the eighth hour forenoon.
"Chaldee to the second year, the ninth hour forenoon.
"Syriac to the third year, the tenth hour forenoon.
"Practice in Bible to the first year, the second hour afternoon.
"Ezra and Daniel to the second year, the third hour afternoon.
"Trostius Syriac New Testament to the third year, the fourth hour afternoon."

This plan, says Rosenau, *loc. cit.*, p. 102, remained unchanged till the end of the XVII C., when, during the presidency of Charles Chauncey

(1654-72), Arabic was added. Monis* became *first special instructor in Hebrew* in 1722, and retained his office till 1761 (not 1760, as Rosenau, *loc. cit.*). In the same year (not 1765, as Rosenau, *loc. cit.*) Stephen Sewall became professor in oriental languages until 1785. In 1787 the study of Hebrew grew to be very unpopular, so that Eliphalet Pearson (1786-1806), professor of oriental languages, was made professor of English grammar and rhetoric. Notwithstanding the fact that Hebrew was not very palatable to the students until the year 1817, a Hebrew oration was usually delivered at the annual commencement. (See Professor Edward Young's paper on "Theological Studies at Harvard," in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, June, 1880, *apud* Rosenau, *loc. cit.*) About Semitic studies in general at various American colleges, see the article of Rev. Wm. Rosenau and the authorities cited on p. 100. The *Hebrew Grammar*, printed in 1763, referred to by Rosenau on p. 107 of his paper, is *not* by Stephen Sewall. It is identical with the one whose title is given in full in my paper on Monis, p. 223, note. It is somewhat singular that the late Professor Schaff, usually so thorough and accurate, does not refer to these pioneers of Semitic studies in America in his chapter on the "History of Hebrew Learning," in *Theological Propædæutic* (New York, 1893), pp. 113-14. Nor does the bibliographer, Rev. S. M. Jackson, mention them.

II. A PERSIAN CUSTOM IN THE TALMUD.

According to the superstitious views of the Parsees, the paring of nails and cuttings or shavings of hair are unclean, and become weapons in the hands of the demons, unless they have been protected by certain rites and spells. They are withdrawn from his power by the recital of certain prayers, and by being deposited in the earth inside consecrated circles, which are drawn around them as an intrenchment against the fiend. (*Cf.* Darmesteter's *Avesta*¹, in the *SBE.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. xcii, 186 *sqq.*) This superstition is almost universal. Darmesteter points out parallels in the folklore of Bombay; among the Esthonians, on the shores of the Baltic; the Gauchos in the Chilian pampas, and in the Norse saga (*vide loc. cit.*).

In the B. T. *Niddah*, 17a, we are told that among the five culpable venial sins is "the casting away of nails on the street." "Even though the parings are laid in a basket, tied and sealed, an evil spirit still rests upon them," etc. The explanation which follows this curious statement is even more quaint: ה' דברים הן שהעשה אותן מתחייב בנפשו ודמו בראשו: הנוטל צפרניו וזורקן לרה"ר והנוטל צפרניו וזורקן לרשות הרבים: מפני שאשה מעוברת עוברת עליהן ומפלת ולא אמרן אלא דשקיל בגנוסטר † [*ανήστραον, κνηστήρ* =]

* Not Morris, as Rosenau, *loc. cit.*, has it.

† *Vide* Kohut's *Arakh Completum*, II, 323a. Both Jastrow and Fuerst (*Glossarium*) have omitted the word in our text altogether.

ולא אמרן אלא דשקיל ידיה ודכרעיה ולא אמרן אלא דלא גז מידי בתרייהו אבל גז מידי בתרייהו לית לך בה ולא דלא לכולה מילתא חיישינן ת"ר ג' דברים נאמרו בצפרנים שורפן חסיד קוברין צדיק. זורקן רשע. (See also *Moed Katon*, 18a [Wuensché's translation, Vol. I, p. 302; III, 176]; *Kethuboth* 76b; *Gittin* 70a; *Kiddushin* 41; Dr. G. Brecher, *Das Transcendentale, Magie und magische Heilarten im Talmud* [Vienna, 1850], pp. 178-9; Schorr's *Hechalutz*, II, p. 158; VII, 42, No. 13; Geiger's *Zeitsch. f. Wissenschaft und Leben*, IX, pp. 259-60.) Pliny, in his *Natural History*, Vol. V, p. 285 (cf. Bohn's Engl. edition), likewise mentions the usages connected with the cutting of human nails. It is religiously believed by many, says he, that it is ominous, in a pecuniary point of view, for a person to pare his nails without speaking, on the market days of Rome [the "Nundinæ" held every eighth day in Rome], or to begin at the forefinger in doing so: it is thought, too, to be a preventive of baldness and of headache to cut the hair on the seventeenth and twenty-ninth days of the moon. (See also F. Nork, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Deutschen*, etc., Stuttgart, 1849, p. 514.) The Jews were enjoined not to cut their hair or nails at new moon. This custom is commended especially to women. (See the sources mentioned in M. Brück's *Rabbinische Ceremonialgebräuche*, etc., Breslau, 1837, p. 76, n. 47.) Several interesting culture-historic superstitions may be found in R. Jehuda Chasid's *Sefer Chasidim*. The talmudic reference, quoted above, is also mentioned by *Abudraham* (see Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, loc. cit., p. 259).

The Parsic parallels to the above may be found in Darmesteter's *Zendavesta*, I, pp. 185-9: ". . . which is the most deadly dead whereby a man increaseth most the baleful strength of the Daēvas . . . ? Ahurah Mazda answered: 'It is when a man here below combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails, drop them in a hole or in a crack [?] . . . Therefore, O Zarathustra! whenever here below thou shalt comb thy hair or shave it off, or pare thy nails . . . thou shalt draw three furrows with a knife of metal around the hole, or six furrows or nine. . . . For the nails, thou shalt dig a hole, out of the house, as deep as the top joint of the little finger; thou shalt take the nails down there and thou shalt say aloud these fiend-smiting words: 'The words that are heard from the pious in holiness and good thought,' etc. See above: קוברין צדיק and the entire quoted text.

III. A TALMUDIC SAYING IN THE QURĀN.

We read in *Sûrah*, V, 9: ^{to}عِزَّانَ كُنْتُمْ جُنْبًا فَأَطَهَّرُوا وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ NDمَرَضَىٰ أَوْ عَلَىٰ سَفَىٰ أَوْ جَاءَ أَحَدٌ مِنْكُم مِّنَ الْغَائِطِ أَوْ لَامَسْتُمُ NDالنِّسَاءَ فَلَمْ تَجِدُوا مَاءً فَتَيَمَّمُوا صَعِيدًا طَيِّبًا فَامْسَحُوا بِرُءُوسِكُمْ

وَأَيِّدِيكُمْ مِنْهُ مَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيَجْعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ حَرَجٍ وَلَكِنْ يُرِيدُ لِيُطَهِّرَكُمْ وَلِيُتِمَّ نِعْمَتَهُ عَلَيْكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

According to this injunction a Moslem is required to perform ablutions before prayer. "But if ye be sick, or on a journey . . . and ye find no water, *take fine clean sand*, and rub your faces and your hands therewith," etc. (*Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islam* [London, 1896], p. 477, s. v. Purifications, No. 4: *تيمم*.) Sand as substitute for water was permitted to the Jews in their devotions, as may be gathered from the following talmudic dictum: *מי שאין לו מים ליטול ידיו מקנה ידיו: בצרור או בעפר וכו' א"ר אבהו א"ר לקיש לגבל ולחפילה ולנטילת* (*cf. Berachoth, 15a*). Another passage, still more explicit, reads: *ידים ארבעה מילין פ"י אם יש גבל העושה עיסתו בטהרה ברחוק ארבעה מילין ימחין עד שיגיע לאותו גבל או אם יש ברחוק ארבעה מילין לפניו מים ימחין עד שיגיע למים ויגבל עיסתו בטהרה וכן לא יתפלל ולא יאכל עד שיגיע למים ויטול ידיו וכו' מ דבעין ארבעה מילין לפניו אבל לאחריו אפי' מיל אחד אין מטריחין אותו לחזור*. אלא עושה עיסתו כמו שידמך לו ויקנה ידיו בעפר ויתפלל (*Chullin 122b*; see Kohut's *Arâkh Completum*, Vol. II, p. 225.)

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

DALLAS, TEXAS, September 16, 1898.

Book Notices.

DALMAN'S ARAMAIC-MODERN HEBREW DICTIONARY.¹

The material contained in this glossary falls into two parts: a) Targum, b) Talmud and Midrash. For the first part the author has made use of oriental MSS., whose superlinear vocalization he transcribed into the so-called Teberian system. Of the accuracy of this part of the work only those are able to judge who have access to the MSS. Assuming that this part of the work has been conscientiously performed, the author deserves the thanks of the student for his laborious task.

The other part of the work, however, leaves much to be desired. This work is intended, primarily, as a handbook for students to whom the large works of Levy and Jastrow are inaccessible. In order that it should answer its purpose, three conditions are essential: a scientific arrangement of the material uniformly carried out, completeness of vocabulary, consistency and accuracy of vocalization. Unfortunately, all these conditions are lacking.

The arrangement is, like that of Jastrow, purely alphabetical, with this difference: that the *matres lectionis* are disregarded. It cannot be said that this is very satisfactory. The only scientific arrangement for a Semitic dictionary is that according to roots. For practical purposes Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* has proven to be the best. Even in the author's arrangement many inconsistencies appear. Thus he has many words in two different places: אֲנִי, 6a, 8a; אֲנִי, 9a, 11a; אֲנִי, 9a, 11b; אֲנִי, 9a, 12a; אֲנִי, 15b, 23b; בִּרְךָ, 48b, 60a, etc., while אֲנִי, with radical י, is spelled אֲנִי and given on 16a instead of 15b. The *matres lectionis* denoting short vowels are sometimes retained, as in אֲנִי, sometimes omitted, as in אֲנִי, without any consistency.

A considerable part of the vocabulary, mostly words of uncertain etymology and meaning, just such words as the student is most apt to consult the dictionary, are omitted, while one word of modern Hebrew, בְּחִינָה, has been inserted!

In the definition of words and in their vocalization the author naturally mostly follows his predecessors, but in some cases ventures to depart from them. We are unable to judge most of these departures,

¹ עֵרֶךְ וְהוֹדָה. ARAMÄISCH-NEUHEBRÄISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZU TARGUM, TALMUD UND MIDRASCH. Mit Vokalisation der targumischen Wörter nach südarabischen Handschriften und besonderer Bezeichnung des Wortschatzes des Onkelostargum. Unter Mitwirkung von P. Theodor Scharf, bearbeitet von Dr. Gustaf H. Dalman. Teil I, (א-י). Mit Lexicon der Abbréviaturen von G. H. Handler. Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kaufmann, 1897. Pp. x (+ ii) + 180 (+ 1) + 129; 8vo. Complete, M. 12.

for the reason that no references are added. His departure in vocalization rests on personal combination. The reasons for such departures the author should have given in one of the current journals. Some of them may prove tenable; others are certainly insupportable. Every Aramaic word is given in the emphatic state, whether it occurs so or not. Thus **אומדותא**, **אינישא**, **אנתותא**, never occur in this form. Still, such forms are at least possible. But when **ברקתי** is given as **ברקחיתא**, the possibility of its correctness is at least doubtful (§ 987);² that the masculine **ריצא** is given as **ריצתא** is certainly wrong. The vocalization as a whole is not only full of inexcusable inconsistencies, as when, for example, one and the same grammatical form is vocalized in *four* different ways (*cf.* **הַשֵּׁב**, **הַקֵּם**, **הָרַה**, **הָפֵר**, **הָכֵן**, **הָקֵר**, **הָנֵץ**, **הָנִה**), but must be characterized as slovenly when even biblical words are misspelled. *Cf.* **בְּחָלִים**, **בְּרִיחַ**, **אַשְׁמִירָה**, **אַרְפָּז**, **אַסְפּוֹת**, **בְּאַחְרוֹנָה**, **בְּאַחְרוֹנָה**.

In the following lines I shall point out mostly incorrectness and inconsistency of vocalization, without intending to be exhaustive. In order not to repeat myself, I refer for more explanation, where necessary, to my grammar of Babylonian Aramaic. For **רַבְתִּי** (*s. v.* **אַבְל**) read **רַבְתִּי**. **אַבְלָא** seems to be but the superlinear form of **אַבְלָא**, and is to be stricken out. **אַבְנָתָא**, *r.* **אַבְנָתָא** (§ 861). **אַיִנְךָ**, *r.* **אַיִנְךָ**. **אַד**, *r.* **אַד**.

אַד, or **אַד**. **אַדְדָא**, *r.* **אַדְדָא** = **אַדְדָא**. The reason for the vocalization of **אַדְדָא** is not apparent (§ 865). **אַדְדָא** is the same as **אַדְדָא**. For **אַיִר** *r.* **אַיִר**. **אַכִּיפִי** is probably **אַכִּיפִי** = **אַכִּפִּיתָא** with diphthongization (§ 80). **אַיִמְנָא**, *r.* **אַיִמְנָא**. **אַפִּיכִי** is perhaps **אַפִּיכִי** = **אַפִּיכִי**, an Aph'el noun. **אַפִּנָא**, *r.* **אַפִּנָא**. **אַרְא**, *r.* **אַרְא**. **אַחְדְבִי**, *r.* **אַחְדְבִי**. **אַחְדְבִי** is not Pa'el (§ 859). On **אַחְד** *cf.* § 31, n. 3. **אַחְרִיתִי** is probably a Babylonian word and should be vocalized **אַחְרִיתִי** and **אַחְרִיתִי** = **אַחְרִיתִי** (§ 961). **אַחְשְׁדִּרְפִּנִי**, *r.* **אַחְשְׁדִּרְפִּנִי**. **אַטְבָא**, *r.* **אַטְבָא**. **אַטְבָא**, read with tradition **אַטְבָא**. As the etymology of the word is unknown, there is no reason to change the vocalization. **אַטִּיפָא** and **אַטִּיפָא**, *r.* **אַטִּיפָא** and **אַטִּיפָא**; *cf.* **אַטִּיפָא** in Harkavy's edition of **חֲשׁוּבוֹת הַגְּאוּנִים**, § 47. **אַיִד**, *r.* **אַיִד**. **אַיִד**, *r.* **אַיִד**. **אַכְוִרְנָא**, read with Columbia MS. **אַכְוִרְנָא**. **אַכְטָא** l. **אַכְטָא**, see **חֲשׁוּבוֹת הַגְּאוּנִים** *loc. cit.* **אַכְרָנָא**, *r.* **אַכְרָנָא** (§ 821). **אַלְחִירָק**, *cf.* Epstein, *RÉJ.*, XXVIII, 88. **אַלְנָקִי**, *r.* **אַלְנָקִי**. **אַחְקוֹת** (*sub* **אַמְדָא**), *r.* **אַחְקוֹת**. **אַמְדָא**, *r.* **אַמְדָא**; the same *sub voce* **אַמְדָא**. **אַמִּיתָא** is identical with **חֲמִיתָא**, but both are differentiated by the author. **אַמְכִּיתָא**: such a word does not exist; *r.* **אַמְכִּיתָא**, whatever that may mean. **אַמְתָא**, read with Syriac and Jewish tradition **אַמְתָא**. For **אַמְתִּי** *r.*

² These §§ refer to the reviewer's *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom*, etc.

אִמְחִי (§ 1004*a*). אִמְחִי is theoretically correct. But language does not always run in consonance with *a priori* theories. The undisputed traditional pronunciation is אִמְחִי. If asked to explain this form, I should say that it might have been influenced by such a nominal form as אִמְחִי, while אִמְחִי was considered to be a form like פִּרְי. The suffixal form in such words as קִמְחִי, etc., might have also been a factor in its vocalization. אִמְחִי with three consecutive שְׁוָאִים! אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי. אִמְחִי, 25*b*, r. אִמְחִי. Why אִמְחִי with פֿ and אִמְחִי with פֿ? For מִאִמְחִי (s. v. אִמְחִי), r. מִאִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי we expect אִמְחִי, for אִמְחִי rather אִמְחִי. On אִמְחִי cf. § 952. For אִמְחִי restore אִמְחִי (§ 801). For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי or אִמְחִי = פֿלִי (§ 798). For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי = פֿלִי. For אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי III, vocalize אִמְחִי (§ 855). For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי or אִמְחִי, Aph'el noun of אִמְחִי to permit. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. On אִמְחִי cf. § 104. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. The name occurs in the Aramaic inscriptions as אִמְחִי and means of *generous proportions*. אִמְחִי, more probably אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי (s. 858). אִמְחִי: on the meaning of this word cf. Friedman, *הַטִּלָּה* III, 201. אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי (§ 798). אִמְחִי, as name of the treatise אִמְחִי, must be vocalized אִמְחִי. אִמְחִי, אִמְחִי, are more probably אִמְחִי, אִמְחִי (§ 866). The various spellings of אִמְחִי point to the form אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי II, r. אִמְחִי (§ 809). For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. The spelling אִמְחִי occurring half a dozen times allows no other vocalization. Wonder what the author thought of the singular of a form אִמְחִי! For אִמְחִי (s. v. אִמְחִי I) r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי, cf. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 217. For אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי I, 4, should have been given a separate article and vocalized אִמְחִי. It is an abbreviation of אִמְחִי. The full expression אִמְחִי occurs in אִמְחִי ed. Gaster. Cf. also Löw, *ZDMG.*, LII, 315. On אִמְחִי, cf. § 798, note. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. A form אִמְחִי cannot give a construct state אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי r. אִמְחִי. The article אִמְחִי II is to be stricken out; *pestilence* is אִמְחִי (§ 797). For אִמְחִי restore אִמְחִי (§ 795). אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי (s. v. אִמְחִי) restore אִמְחִי. Difference of vocalization between masc. and fem. occurs also elsewhere. Cf. אִמְחִי and אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי, r. אִמְחִי. For אִמְחִי (s. v. אִמְחִי), r. אִמְחִי.

The word is an abbreviation of **וְרִצְוִיָּא**; cf. Syr. **ܪܝܨܐ** (Audo, *s. v.* **ܪܝܨܐ**) and § 975. **הַסְפָּדָה**, the spelling **הַסְפָּדָה** and traditional pronunciation require **הַסְפָּדָה**. That analogical forms retain their first vowel unchanged proves nothing for this word. **הוֹצֵל**, C. MS. vocalizes **הוֹצֵל**, *i. e.*, **הוֹצֵל**. For **שְׁטִיתִיהָ** (*s. v.* **הַלָּהָה**) *r.* **שְׁטִיתִיהָ**. The renderings of **הַלְזוֹן**, **הַלְזוֹנָא**, are rather inadequate. The word denotes among other things five different animals. Cf. Epstein, *Beth Talmud*, V, 299 *sqq.* **הַרְשוֹם**. II is more probably **הַרְשוֹם**. On **יֵץ** cf. § 80. For **יֵץ** *r.* **יֵץ**. For **יֵץ** *r.* **יֵץ** (§ 849).

In the present state of our knowledge absolute correctness cannot be expected of such a work as this. But accuracy and consistency the author owes to his readers. Let us hope that the second part will be issued in a more correct form.

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ARYO-SEMITIC PHILOLOGY.¹

Three causes lie at the basis of the attempts constantly being made to find elements of community between the two great families of language spoken by peoples which have dominated the literature and life of civilized man: first, the ineradicable feeling of the unity of mankind and therefore of the various languages spoken by man; second, the constantly increasing body of facts testifying to primitive historical relations between Aryan and Semitic peoples; third, the passion of the professional philologist for discovering, or inventing, linguistic affinities between languages hitherto regarded as distinct. The two former causes are reasonable, and the impulses to which they give rise quite comprehensible. As for the latter, one must discriminate, or run the risk of falling into the clutches of the philological "crank" whose grist of derivations, combinations, and analogies is so amazing, bewildering, and captivating that he who came to scoff may be forced to remain to pray for mercy or deliverance.

An especially happy hunting ground of this character is the language and literature of Greek mythology, in which Mr. Robert Brown, Jr., has been a diligent and delighted sportsman. The narrative of his adventures, the bags he has potted, the scalps he has taken, the happy way in which he has brought down game which Professor F. Max Müller has missed, and the strong indignation he manifests at the unnecessary mutilations caused by the clumsy shooting of Mr. Andrew Lang, in a field where he has been for some time lawlessly poaching—all this, and more, is set down in this book, in language which suggests the good old

¹SEMITIC INFLUENCE IN HELLENIC MYTHOLOGY: with special reference to the recent mythological works of the Rt. Hon. Professor F. Max Müller and Mr. Andrew Lang. By Robert Brown, Jr., F. S. A., M. R. A. S. London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898. xvi + 228 pp. \$2.50, net.

days of Salmasius, though tempered by the somewhat higher standard of controversial writing favored by modern scholarship.

We have little interest in the somewhat patronizing compliments with which he doubtfully honors the former, or the stinging innuendoes and severe scoldings with which he falls on the latter. These are the pleasant methods and courteous ways affected by some scholarly writers, and they lend piquancy to otherwise dry discussions. What lies beneath all this as Mr. Brown's contribution to scholarship?

Really it is somewhat difficult to estimate.¹ He has certainly succeeded in showing the inability of both the comparative mythologists and anthropologists to solve all the problems of Hellenic mythology. He has, also, called attention anew to the significance of the oriental influence on Hellenic life. His book gathers up the results of the work of those scholars who advocate the thesis that Semitic religion strongly affected the early religion of Hellas. He has offered some plausible explanations from Semitic sources of difficult names in Hellenic mythology. He has made some interesting and important suggestions on the relations of primitive constellation figures, the signs of the Zodiac, and similar complex and abstruse matters. But the brevity of his discussions on all these subjects prevents the presentation of enough evidence upon any of them to enable the reader to form a competent and satisfactory judgment on the character of his results.

It will, perhaps, be as useful to the readers of this JOURNAL as any other service we can render, in enabling them to understand Mr. Brown's method and results, to give a fairly complete list of the philological equations, either original with him or honored with his approval, which the book contains:

Kadmos, *Sem.* Qadmôn, "oriental," from qedem, "east."

Iones, *Eg.* Uinivu, *Sem.* Yivânas.

Melikertes, *Phæn.* Melqârth.

Héraklès, *Phæn.* Harekhal, "the Traveler."

Ôros, *Phæn.* Tzur-os, Tyre.

Kabeiroi, *Phæn.* Kabîrim.

Kronos, *Sem.* Qeren-os, qeren, "horn," *i. e.*, "powerful."

Krokos, *Sem.* Kar-kom.

Erebos, *Sem.* Erebh, "west."

Eurynomê, *Sem.* Erebh-no'ema, "beautiful night."

Poseidôn, *Gk.* and *Sem.* Pôsis + *i-ta(ð)n-os*, "lord of the isle of Tan."

i. e., Crêtê.

✓ Dionysos, *Sem.* Dagan-nisi, "judge of men."

Semelê, *Sem.* 'Samelath (divine name).

Bakchos, *Sem.* Melqârth [B-k-r(o)].

Êlis, *Sem.* Êl (land of "God").

Agênôr, *Sem.* Khna' "Canaanite."

Harmonia, *Sem.* Kharmon, "sanctuary."

¹ See also C. P. Tiele's estimate of the book, in the *Theologische Jahresbericht*, Vol. XVII 1896, p. 498, and the Review by Cz. in the *Litterarische Centralblatt*, 1896, No. 28.

Phoinix, *Eg.* Fennechu [*Gk.* Phoinikê].
 Eurôpê, *Sem.* Erebh, "west."
 Belos, *Sem.* Bel.
 Ino, *Sem.* Anna, "merciful."
 Minos, *Sem.* Manôah, "man of rest."
 Radamanthys, *Eg.* Rhot-amenti, "king of the underworld."
 Thebai, *Sem.* Teboh [*Arab.* tabut], "ark," "shrine."
 Perseus, *Phæn.* Barsav [*cf. Heb.* Esau], "the hairy."
 Andromeda, *Phæn.* Adam-math, "the rosy."
 Athamas, *Sem.* Tammuz.
 Hekâtê, *Eg.* Heqit.
 Palamêdês, *Phæn.* Baal-middoh, "lord of the measure."
 Palaimôn, *Phæn.* Baal-hamon.
 Bellerophôn, *Phæn.* Baal-raphon, "lord of health."
 Mêdeia, *Phæn.* Middoh, the "wise."
 Agamêdês, *Phæn.* "the great measurer."
 Trophonius, *Phæn.* Baal-trophâ, "lord of cure."
 Kassiepeia, *Phæn.* Qassiu-peaêr.
 Mykênai, *Phæn.* Makhâneh, the "camp."
 Ariadne, *Phæn.*, prob. Areth.
 Asklêpios, *Phæn.* Aishqel, "the lively fire," + *Gk.* êpios.
 Erykinê (Êrigonê), *Sem.* Erek-hayim.
 Orion, *Sem.* Ury-on, the "fiery one."
 Kandaôn, *Sem.* Kohâin-dayan, "the prince, the judge."
 X Pegasus, *Sem.* Pegah, "bridle."
 Iolâos, *Phæn.* Iol.
 Stympfalos, *Phæn.* Stembal.

The list is appetizing. It is the turn of Professor F. Max Müller and Mr. Andrew Lang to fall to and slaughter these innocents along with their bold sponsor.

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A MEMOIR OF HENRY C. RAWLINSON.¹

Canon George Rawlinson has given us a very readable and interesting account of the life and works of his illustrious brother. Sir Henry was a gentleman, a sportsman, a soldier, diplomat, explorer, geographer, and scholar. It is seldom that we find a scholar who is also a sportsman. It would be better for scholars, if more of them were sportsmen, if they were more worldly. The scholar who does not come in contact with the world is usually very faulty in his judgments and, it is hard to say, is of

¹ A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., etc., by George Rawlinson, M.A., F.R.G.S., Canon of Canterbury, Late Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. With an Introduction by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V. C. With Illustrations. 39 Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. xxii + 358 pp. \$5.

very little real benefit to the community. It does one's heart good to have the canon of Canterbury write of his brother: "The sporting instincts of his father and uncle remained as a most striking feature in the character of Sir Henry up to the end of his long life. He never ceased to be proud of his father's victory with 'Coronation' at the Derby of 1841, and a picture of the old horse always hung in a conspicuous position in his library, in sharp contrast with the Assyrian marbles on the one side, and the rare books of the East in a book-case on the other. The 'Sporting Intelligence' in the *Times* was always studied by him after he had gone through the political articles and telegrams; and there were few important events in the cricket, shooting, racing, or hunting worlds with which he was not well acquainted." We have to do with Rawlinson as geographer, explorer, excavator, and decipherer, and hence the most interesting chapters in this memoir are: V, Residence in Persia from 1835 to 1839—First attraction to Cuneiform studies—Travels—Return to India from Persia; VIII, First residence at Baghdad (1844–1849)—Cuneiform studies—First cuneiform memoir—Studies for second memoir—Contact with Layard—Final visit to Behistun—Return to England; X, Second residence at Baghdad (1851–1855)—Takes over the Nineveh explorations—Work as an explorer, etc.; XIII, Resumption of cuneiform studies—Commencement of regular work at the British Museum—Relations with Mr. George Smith—Engagement to edit the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia"—Publication of Vol. I, 1861—Other cuneiform publications, etc. The most interesting chapter for Semitic students is XX, the contents of which are: Position with regard to cuneiform discovery—Absolute ignorance of the subject on quitting England in 1827—Attention, how first called to it—Materials obtained from the rock-inscriptions of Hamadan and Behistun in 1835–1837—First acquaintance made with the early labors of Grotefend and St. Martin in 1836—Little advantage obtained from these writers—First translations of cuneiform documents communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society, 1837—Acknowledgment of the documents—Acknowledgment of the Paris Asiatic Society—Communication held with M. Eugène Burnouf in the year 1838—Obtains this writer's *Mémoire* on the inscriptions of Hamadan, and his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, the same year—Introduction to Professor Lassen, of Bonn, through Sir George Ouseley about the same time—Letter from Ouseley—Letter from Lassen—Obtains Lassen's *Altpersische Keilinschriften von Persepolis* soon afterward, containing copies of the inscriptions published by Niebuhr, Le Brun, and Porter—Decipherment of the Persian cuneiform alphabet—Mode of procedure—Gradual progress—Ultimate result arrived at—Study of the contents of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, 1839 and 1844—Composition and publication of the first cuneiform memoir, 1844–1846—Reception of the memoir at home and abroad—Study of the Babylonian cuneiform, 1846–1849—Publication of second cuneiform memoir, "On the Babylonian Translation of the Great Persian Inscription at Behistun," 1851—Decipherment and translation of

Assyrian documents, 1848-1851—Study of the Median or Scythic cuneiform conjointly with Mr. E. Norris, 1851-1855—Study of other varieties of cuneiform writing—Testimony of Professor Jules Oppert.

The book as a whole is very instructive. Rawlinson's contributions to the study of cuneiform should have been edited by a specialist. As "the father of Assyriology" his work is familiar to all Semitic students. In connection with this memoir one should read Dr. C. Johnston's article in *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Vol. VIII, No. 72, 1889; Flemming's "Sir Henry Rawlinson und seine Verdienste um die Assyriologie," in *Beiträge zur semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, II. For a complete list of Rawlinson's works, cf. Dr. Muss-Arnolt's bibliography in *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars* for April, 1889.

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THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

I. SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

[REMARKS AND LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS, SEE P. XXXII.]

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Place of Publication: B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; Ks. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

Prices: \$ = dollar; M. = Mark; f. = franc; L. = lira; s. = shilling; d. = pence; fl. = florin. Prices quoted are usually for volumes bound in cloth in case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others. Bd. = bound.

Months: Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., J., Ag., S., O., N., D.

PERIODICALS.

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| AA. | = Arena. | Mi. | = Mind. |
| AC. | = L'association catholique. | MIM. | = Monatsschrift für innere Mission. |
| ACQ. | = American Catholic Quarterly Review. | M&N | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des |
| AER. | = American Ecclesiastical Review. | DP-V. | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| AGPh. | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie. | Mo. | = Monist. |
| AJSL. | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. | NA. | = Nuova Anthologia. |
| AJTh. | = American Journal of Theology. | Nath. | = Nathanael. |
| AKKR. | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht. | NC. | = Nineteenth Century. |
| AMZ. | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift. | NCR. | = New Century Review. |
| ARW. | = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. | NKZ. | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift. |
| BAZ. | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München. | NW. | = New World. |
| BBK. | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch. | OLZ. | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung. |
| BG. | = Beweis des Glaubens. | Ou. | = Outlook. |
| BS. | = Bibliotheca Sacra. | PEFQS. | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement. |
| BU. | = Bibliothèque universelle. | PhM. | = Philosophische Monatshefte. |
| BW. | = Biblical World. | PhR. | = Philosophical Review. |
| BZ. | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift. | PQ. | = Presbyterian Quarterly. |
| CR. | = Contemporary Review. | Pr. | = Protestant. |
| ChOR. | = Charity Organization Review. | PrM. | = Protestantische Monatshefte. |
| ChQR. | = Church Quart. Review. | PRR. | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review. |
| Chr. | = Charities Review. | PSBA. | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology. |
| ChrK. | = Christliches Kunstblatt. | QR. | = Quarterly Review. |
| ChrL. | = Christian Literature. | RAAO. | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale. |
| ChrO. | = Christian Quarterly. | RB. | = Revue biblique. |
| ChrW. | = Christliche Welt. | RBd. | = Revue bénédictine. |
| D-A | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche. | RCAR. | = Reformed Church Review. |
| ZTKK. | = Deutsch-englische Blätter. | RChr. | = Revue chrétienne. |
| DEBL. | = Deutsche Revue. | RChrS. | = Revue de christianisme sociale. |
| DR. | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht. | RdM. | = Revue des deux Mondes. |
| DZKR. | = English Historical Review. | REJ. | = Revue des études juives. |
| EHR. | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung. | RHLR. | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses. |
| EKKZ. | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin. | RHR. | = Revue de l'histoire des religions. |
| EMM. | = Edinburgh Review. | RQ. | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| ER. | = Études. | RS. | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne. |
| Et. | = Expository Times. | RTA. | = Revue théologique. |
| Exp. | = Expositor. | RTAPh. | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie. |
| F. | = Forum. | RTAQR. | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig. |
| FR. | = Fortnightly Review. | SA. | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. u. f. Berlin, München, etc. |
| GPr. | = Gymnasialprogramm. | StKr. | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken. |
| Hh. | = Halte was du hast. | StWV. | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede. |
| HN. | = L'humanité nouvelle. | ThQ. | = Theologische Quartalschrift. |
| HR. | = Homiletic Review. | ThR. | = Theologische Rundschau. |
| HSR. | = Hartford Sem. Record. | ThSt. | = Theologische Studien. |
| HZ. | = Historische Zeitschrift. | ThT. | = Theologisch Tijdschrift. |
| IAQR. | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review. | UC. | = L'Université catholique. |
| ID. | = Inaugural-Dissertation. | UPr. | = Universitätsprogramm. |
| IER. | = Indian Evang. Review. | VuPh. | = Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie. |
| IJE. | = International Journal of Ethics. | WZKM. | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes. |
| Ind. | = Independent. | ZA. | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. |
| ITAR. | = Internat. Theol. Review. | ZAeg. | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde. |
| JA. | = Journal asiatique. | ZATW. | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. |
| JBL. | = Journal of Biblical Literature. | ZDMG. | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch. |
| JM. | = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums. | ZDPV. | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| JQR. | = Jewish Quarterly Review. | ZeRU. | = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht. |
| JRAS. | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. | ZKG. | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| JTVI. | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute. | ZkTh. | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie. |
| Kath. | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kath. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben. | ZMR. | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft. |
| KM. | = Kirchl. Monatschrift. | ZPhKr. | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik. |
| KZ. | = Kyrklig Tidkrift. | ZpTh. | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie. |
| KZ. | = Katechetische Zeitschrift. | ZSchw. | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz. |
| LCAr. | = Lutheran Church Review. | ZTK. | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche. |
| LQ. | = Lutheran Quarterly. | ZwTh. | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie. |
| LQR. | = London Quarterly Review. | | |
| M. | = Muséon. | | |
| MA. | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, u. g., Berlin, München. | | |
| MCG. | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft. | | |
| MG&K. | = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst. | | |

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures

Continuing HEBRAICA

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JANUARY, 1899.

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NEBOPOLASSAR AND THE TEMPLE TO THE SUN-
GOD AT SIPPAR.

BY PROFESSOR MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH.D.,

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I.

Among the oldest and most sacred edifices of northern Babylonia was the temple devoted to the service of Shamash—the sun-god—in the city of Sippar,¹ situated about twenty miles to the north of Babylon and represented at present by the mound known as Abu-Habba. The city of Sippar lay on the Euphrates, though now, owing to changes in the river bed, Abu-Habba is at some distance from the river. The temple was known as E-babbara “the house of splendor,” and such was the importance of the place at one time that the Euphrates was known as the river of Sippar. The ideographs with which the name of the city is written, Utu-kib-nun-ki, designate it as a place “resplendent, fertile, and great.” It is not without significance that the first ideograph is the one used to designate the “sun.” An attribute like great fertility or causing great fertility is applicable likewise to the sun, and it would seem, therefore, that the

¹Written phonetically Sip-par, Si-ip-par, Sip-pi-ru, and Si-par. The form Zi-im-bir (or pir) occurs in a lexicographical tablet (V R. 23, No. 1, rv. 29a). Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 210, regards this as an older form of the name, but it is more plausible to suppose this form to be a play upon the name (zim = zīmu = appearance; bir = bir(biru) = brilliant) suggested by the name of the temple at the place E-babbara “house of brilliancy.” At all events, Zim-bir is an artificial distortion of Sippar.

ideographic form of the city's name contains a direct reference to the sun-worship which acquired such prominence there. This becomes the more probable if we bear in mind that Larsam, which was also a center of sun-worship and perhaps even more ancient than Sippar, and where the temple to Shamash was likewise known as E-babbara, is represented ideographically as Utu-esh-gunu, *i. e.*, the great dwelling of the sun. However this may be, it was the worship of Shamash that gave to Sippar its hold upon the affections of the Babylonians,² and long after the city had lost its political importance, the great temple to Shamash continued to be an object of care to the rulers of the country.

The rediscovery of Sippar is due to Hormuzd Rassam,³ who began excavations at Abu-Habba in 1881. His work was concentrated on the great temple, which covered an enormous area. Within the sacred precinct were chapels to Â (or Malkatu), the consort of Shamash, and to other gods affiliated with Shamash. In addition to this, the dwellings for the priests, the judicial chambers, and the archives formed a considerable establishment. It is estimated that no less than 30,000 legal documents have been recovered from these archives, most of which found their way to the British Museum.

Rassam also found a large number of historical texts, dating chiefly from the reign of Nabonnedos, through which we learn of the great antiquity of the temple and of its varying fortunes. But one of the most precious discoveries was a stone tablet of the Babylonian king Nabubaliddin, whose reign may be approximately fixed as extending from 880 to 850 B. C.⁴ The tablet is

² See the writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 69.

³ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VIII, pp. 172-82.

⁴ A chronological difficulty in the case of Nabubaliddin arises through the reference in the annals of Ašurnasirbal for the fourth year (I R. 22, l. 84) to the obscure Babylonian king *Sibir*. In the annals for the sixth year Nabubaliddin is spoken of as the king of Babylonia (Karduniaš; I R. 23, col. iii, l. 19), and from the Black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (l. 73) we know that, in the eighth year of the latter's reign, Marduknadnīsum occupies the Babylonian throne. According to the Assyrian "Eponym Canon," the interval between these two dates, *viz.*, the sixth year of Ašurnasirbal and the eighth year of Shalmaneser, is twenty-eight years, and since the stone tablet of Nabubaliddin (col. vi, 28) is dated in the thirty-first year of the latter's reign, it becomes manifestly impossible to assume, as Hommel does (*Babyl.-assyrr. Gesch.*, p. 570), that Sibir was the immediate predecessor of Nabubaliddin. A solution of the difficulty may be found by assuming that Ašurnasirbal's reference to Sibir is not connected with the events that took place in the fourth year of the former's reign, but refers to occurrences of an earlier date. The context does not forbid such a supposition, and Tiele in his *Geschichte* (p. 171), although not directly touching on the point, apparently accepts this view.

conspicuous for its magnificent workmanship as well as for the historical significance of its contents and the archæological importance of the design at the top. Since the first announcement of the discovery of the tablet, communicated through Mr. Pinches (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. III, pp. 109-11), quite a literature has grown up about this remarkable monument. Consisting as it does of a fine bas-relief, which supplies us with an actual representation of sun-worship in ancient Babylonia, followed by a long inscription of 285 lines written in the neo-Babylonian cuneiform characters, both the illustration and the inscription have been the subject of abundant and fruitful discussion.

The tablet itself was found in an earthenware trough buried about three feet below the surface of a room that was paved with asphalt, instead of the usual stone or brick of Assyrian and Babylonian structures. It may be well to recall briefly the contents of the inscription.⁵ It begins by giving an account of the varying fortunes that befell the temple, its pillage during the troublesome times of the invasion of the Sutu in the eleventh century, the alternating reinstitution and cessation of offerings to Shamash up to the days of Eulmaš-šakinšum, about one hundred years prior to Nabubaliddin. Coming to his own days, Nabubaliddin, after bestowing upon himself the usual string of complimentary titles, and celebrating his supremacy over his enemies, including the Sutu, declares himself to be commissioned by Marduk to revenge the injury done to his land, to build up cities, to found sanctuaries, to make images, to fix laws and ordinances, and to provide for regular offerings and sacrifices. He then describes the discovery of an "outline"⁶ for the ancient statue of the sun-god and directs Nabunadinšum, a descendant of the priest who had charge of the sanctuary in the days of Eulmaš-šakinšum,

⁵ The text of the tablet with the bas-relief is published in V R., plates 60-61. Partial translations were offered by Pinches (*TSA.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 164-71) and by Pinches and Budge (*PSBA.*, Vol. VI, pp. 179-81); complete translations by Scheil (*ZA.*, Vol. IV, pp. 324-44), Joh. Jeremias (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, pp. 288-92), and Peiser (*Keilschrift-Bibliothek*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 175-83). Of the three that of Peiser is the most satisfactory, though many obscurities still remain to be cleared up. The bas-relief and the symbols connected with it have been discussed by Pinches and Budge (as above), by Menant (*Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, I^{re} Partie, pp. 244-7), by Dr. William Hayes Ward (*Proc. Amer. Or. Soc.*, October, 1887, pp. xxxi-xxxii), and by the writer (*ibid.*, October, 1888, pp. xcv-xcviii). It is rather surprising that Dr. Ward's important paper should have escaped the notice of European scholars, for it disposes of several erroneous views regarding the symbols of the tablet, which are still upheld by Peiser, as well as by Scheil and Jeremias.

⁶ Assy. uṣurtu. For the justification of this translation see below.

to make an image of Shamash in magnificent style, in accordance with the discovered model, so as to insure an exact copy of the old image. The order is executed and the image solemnly dedicated. The closing portion of the inscription (col. iv, 47, to vi, 29) is taken up with a detailed statement of the revenue in land and kind set aside by the king for the temple, and a list of garments of various kinds presented to the priest Nabunadinsum for the temple service for various months of the year. A formal deed of transfer, duly dated and witnessed, was prepared by the king, of which deed this portion of the inscription is expressly stated to be a copy. The contract is followed by the usual curses hurled against the one who questions the legitimacy of the document or who does injury to the tablet. So much for the text.

In the box with the tablet were also found, according to Rassam (*TSBA.*, Vol. VIII, p. 176), two terra-cotta cylinders containing accounts of the restoration of various temples (including E-babbara), undertaken by Nabonnedos. Inasmuch as over one hundred fragments of Nabonnedos' cylinders were brought to the British Museum from Abu-Habba, Rassam's statement is rather vague; and at this date it is probably no longer possible to determine exactly which cylinders were found in the box. On the cover and on the four sides of the box, whose inside measures are 6 inches (depth) \times 17 inches (length) \times 13½ inches (breadth), are inscribed the words "Shamash the great lord inhabiting E-babbara which is in Sippar."⁷ The box furthermore contained, according to Rassam's statement (*TSBA.*, Vol. VIII, p. 176), two burnt-clay molds representing an impress of the aforementioned bas-relief. Pinches, strangely enough, speaks in his first notice (*PSBA.*, Vol. III, p. 109) of "one" mold, and in a later article (*PSBA.*, Vol. VIII, p. 166) of "some molds," and then rather ambiguously of "this mold" (*ibid.*, p. 167). As a matter of fact, the British Museum possesses two molds which are placed on exhibition by the side of the stone tablet and the box. In the *Zeitschrift für Keilschr.*, Vol. I, p. 270, Bezold describes, among several casts of inscriptions in the Royal Ottoman Museum at Constantinople sent him by Hamdi Bey, one which contains an exact counterpart of the bas-relief at

⁷ Corresponding to the three lines in the left upper corner of the bas-relief at the top of the tablet and also to the first three lines of the inscription.

the top of our tablet. Dr. Bezold's suggestion that the original may be the upper portion of a duplicate to the Abu-Habba stone is not correct. The measurements of the cast correspond exactly with the dimensions of the two molds in the British Museum, so that what the Constantinople museum possesses is a third copy of the mold. Any further doubts as to this conclusion are set at rest by Dr. Hilprecht's statement to me that the Constantinople museum possesses only a mold and no inscription. A cast of this mold was brought by Dr. Hilprecht to the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, but a comparison of it with a cast of the British Museum tablet containing at its head the illustration of Shamash in his shrine shows that the Constantinople mold could not have been prepared from *this* tablet. The measurements of the mold correspond with the design of the Nabubaliddin tablet, but the position of the three-lined inscription on the left-hand side does not. Now, the box in which the tablet is found is large enough to hold at least two tablets, and the question may therefore be raised whether there were not two copies originally of Nabubaliddin's tablet in the box. At various times rumors have been circulated in and around Bagdad of a duplicate to the Nabubaliddin tablet having been found. Some years ago Dr. Budge thought that he was on the track of such a duplicate. It is not certain from Rassam's account that he was on the spot when the box was dug up, and anyone who knows the propensities of the Arabic workmen in the Euphrates valley will not consider it improbable that the contents of the box were tampered with before Mr. Rassam appeared on the scene. Coming back now to the molds, Mr. Pinches first suggested that they were prepared as a protection for the bas-relief, but afterward propounded the more plausible view that "the molds were intended to preserve the representation if the original should be destroyed," while Mr. Rassam advances the strange opinion that "they were made for the purpose of molding in metal a number of these mystic designs for either breastplates or religious use." The two molds in the British Museum and the one in Constantinople are of the same size. The two in London are exact duplicates of one another, except that one of the two, which, by the way, gives the better impression of the design, contains an inscription on the reverse. Mr. Pinches appears at the time of his first article to have noticed the inscription on the back of one of

the London molds, for he speaks of the "inscribed" covering (*PSBA.*, Vol. III, p. 110), and in his second article states that the inscription contains a record of the restoration of the temple under Nebopolassar. He, moreover, credits this king with having made the box and riveted the stone itself which had been broken. Pinches is correct so far as the name of Nebopolassar is concerned, but he could not have gone to the trouble of reading the inscription, or he would have given a more accurate statement of its contents. Nor is there any evidence going to show that Nebopolassar made the box or riveted the stone. The inscription contains a list of garments and outfit, presumably for the statue of Shamash, set aside as an offering for various months of the year. The last line reveals the name of Nebopolassar as the one who made the offering.

Beyond Pinches' inadequate statement no notice has been taken of this inscription. It has never been published, and I therefore took occasion to copy it while spending some weeks at the British Museum a few years ago. Through the kindness of Dr. Budge, the learned keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities, I was permitted to have a photograph taken of the inscription for *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, and the trustees of the British Museum, at the suggestion of Dr. Budge, were kind enough to forward a cast of the inscription to me so as to insure a correct reproduction of the text. The inscription⁸ consists of nineteen lines. It has historical, archæological, and philological interest: historical, inasmuch as it throws some additional light on the history of the temple and enables us to add to our meager knowledge of Nebopolassar's reign; archæological, because it suggests an explanation for the existence of these molds; philological, because of some words it contains and that occur here for the first time. The characters are neo-Babylonian and, with the exception of some erasures and one or two characters on the last line, are clear.

[NOTE.—In my copy, l. 16 (Plate II, p. 73), correct the last two characters (KI-LAL = šukultu) to the sign for repetition (a). (See Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*, Schrifttafel, No. 263; and *Assyrian Grammar*, Sign List, No. 268.)]

The inscription reads as follows:

⁸The mold bears the British Museum signature 81, 11-28, 33 A. H. See Plates I and II.



II.

TRANSLITERATION.

- ilu Šamaš bēlu rabu-u a-šib E-babbar-ra bēl Sippar^{ki}
 lubuš il Šamaš bēlu rabu-u bēl Sippar^{ki}
 arab Nisan am VII kan II i⁹ šal-ḥu IV šubat šib-ti
 šubat din-nu XL ma-na šukultu-šu-nu ištēn i⁹ ḥu-la-nu
 5 ištēn me-zi-ḥu iṣi VII šubātu ša ḥulānu
 ištēn ma-na X šiklu šukultu ištēn šubat nibḥu⁹ AM
 ištēn šubat ḫarbitu(?)¹⁰ ta-bar-ra ištēn šubat piša XX
 ma-na šukultu
 ištēn šubat piša zi-ḫu ištēn me-zi-ḥu iṣi
 ištēn ku-lu-lu ellu ku-lu-lu ša
 10 ḥuraṣu AM eliṣu ištēn šubat piša ellu
 AM ḥuraṣu bābi šubat piša arab Iyar am X kan ki-ma
 arab Nisan šukultu
 arab Ulul am III kan II šal-ḥu III šubati
 ištēn šubat ḥu-la-nu ištēn me-zi-ḥu iṣi
 VI šubat ḥulānu¹¹ ištēn šubat ḫarbitu ištēn šubat piša
 15 ištēn mut-ta-tum ša ta-bar-ri
 ellu bu-ṣu ṭi-me-tum arab Tašrit am VII kan ū(?)
 arab Araḥšamna am XV kan kima arab Nisan arab Adar am
 XV kan
 ki-ma arab Ulul gab-ri a-su-u-mi-it ša Šamaš bēl Sip-
 par^{ki}
 ša Nabu-abal-uṣur šar Babil^{ki}

TRANSLATION.

- Shamash, the great lord inhabiting E-babbara, the lord of Sippar.
 Outfit for Shamash, the great lord, the lord of Sippar.
 Month of Nisan, 7th day, two cords, four cloaks,
 a couch covering worth 40 mana, one border(?),
 5 one girdle, seven borders(?)
 worth 1 mana 10 shekels, one band AM,
 one sacrificial dress of light-purple wool, one white garment worth
 20 mana,
 one white garment ziḫu, one girdle,
 one bright-colored mantle(?), a mantle
 10 overlaid with gold AM, one white, bright-colored garment,
 AM gold of the gate, a white garment. Month of Iyar, 10th day,
 like the month of Nisan, in value.
 Offering for month of Elul, 3d day, two cords, three cloaks,
 one border, one girdle,
 six borders(?), one sacrificial dress, one white garment,

⁹ Ideographically written IB-LAL. See V R. 15, 52, e-f.¹⁰ Ideographically written DE-IB-LAL. See the commentary.¹¹ Ideographically written GAR-IB-LAL. See V R. 15, 53, e-f.

- 15 one chaplet of light-purple wool,
fine-spun linen. For the month of Tishri, 7th day, the same. For the
month of Marcheshwan, 15th day, like Nisan. Month of Adar,
15th day,
like the month of Elul. Copy of the bas-relief of Shamash, lord of
Sippar,
belonging to¹² Nebopolassar, king of Babylon.

COMMENTARY.

The terms for the various kinds of garments constitute the difficult feature of the inscription. In order to determine the meaning of these terms we must have recourse to the lexicographical lists and to the temple documents embodying contracts for work given out by the temple authorities. The long list of garments published in V Rawlinson, plates 14 and 15, and the class of documents of which Zehnpfund¹³ has made a special study, bear directly on the terms occurring in our inscription. It is evident that the lists in V R., plates 14 and 15, were prepared on the basis of just such documents as Zehnpfund has investigated. The Babylonian gods were splendidly robed, and different garments were set aside for them for the various festive occasions celebrated in their honor in the course of the year.¹⁴ The priests, too, had their official robes, and for a large establishment like E-babbara the work involved in providing the outfits of the gods and of the temple servitors was considerable. The raw material was purchased by the temple authorities or received as part of the temple's income, and the material was given to the temple workmen for being converted into the various garments, coverings, draperies, and the like, as needed.

2. The term used at the beginning of the second line of our inscription seems to be the general one for outfit. The first sign to be read, TU or TUB,¹⁵ is the general determinative for clothing, but in combination with GAR "make" and tu (or mu) is equivalent to lubûšu. See V R. 15, 26, c-d, where we find the equation—

$$\text{Tu-gar-mu}^{16} = \text{lubûšu} = \text{outfit}$$

and then in succession—

outfit for a god
outfit for a king
outfit for a goddess

¹² Or "made by;" lit. "of."

¹³ "Babylonische Weberrechnungen," in *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, Vol. I, pp. 492-536; "Nachträge," *ibid.*, pp. 632-6.

¹⁴ See the writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 670.

¹⁵ Not ku. See Brünnow's list, Nos. 10,551 and 10,567 (tub-ba).

¹⁶ So, as a gloss indicates, the sign for clothing is to be read in this combination.

3. Šalḫu is a term of frequent occurrence in the contract literature.¹⁷ The fact that it is preceded invariably by the determinative for "wood" does not stamp it as a "Tempelgeräth" (so Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hdw.*, s. v., and Tallqvist, *Sprache Nabunaid's*, s. v.). From such a passage as Strassmaier, *Nabonidus Inschriften*, No. 115, 7-9, where a number of šalḫu are ordered for the deities Bunene and Gula and for the priestesses of E-babbara, it is evident that some personal apparel is meant. The juxtaposition with kibsu "turban" (e. g., *Nabd.*, No. 143, 4; 146, 8; 179, 4, etc.) bears out this supposition. Kibsu likewise has the determinative for "wood" attached, and in both cases, therefore, this sign is merely an indication of the material—some species of wood fiber out of which the object is woven. The occurrence of the same term šalḫu in architectural usage for the "outer wall" of Babylon suggests that the particular part of the outfit implied was something attached to the dress, as a cord or a girdle of some kind.—Šibtu. Exactly what kind of a garment or part of the dress is meant by šibtu it is difficult to say. Zehnpfund (*Beitr. z. Assyr.*, Vol. I, p. 519) proposes to take šibtum in the sense of "something that is put around one," but that is too vague and too general. An examination of the passages in which the word occurs has led me to the conclusion that "cloak" fits the context very well in most, if not all, places.

4. Dinnu. From II R. 23, c-d, 67, we are permitted to conclude that dinnu is a couch of some kind. On bas-reliefs and cylinders the gods are frequently represented as seated on thrones or stools. Indeed, they are oftener represented as seated than standing. On the illustration at the head of the Nabubaliddin tablet, Shamash sits on a low chair or couch; and it is natural to find among the offerings of Nebopolassar a covering for the sacred piece of furniture on which the god reposes.¹⁸ This covering appears to have been particularly valuable.

4. Ḫulānu, written with the determinative for "wood," appears frequently in the contract literature by the side of iḡ šalḫu. Phonetically we find these various manners of writing, ḫul-la-nu, ḫu-ul-la-nu, as well as ḫu-la-nu. In Nabubaliddin's inscription the same word occurs with the determinative for "garment" (V R. 61, col. v, 45), and so likewise in the list (V R. 15, e-f, 52-53) where the ideographic equivalents are identical with those occurring at the close of l. 14 of our inscription, namely, GAR-IB-LAL. Delitzsch (*Assyr. Hdw.*, p. 277b) is of the opinion that there are two distinct meanings for the term: (1) as a garment and (2) as something belonging to the couch of a deity. There is, however, no necessity for this complication. The juxtaposition of ḫulānu with šalḫu and the occurrence of ḫulānu in our passage as an accessory to dinnu favor the assumption that our word, like šalḫu (and like nibḫu), represents again some species of corded work,

¹⁷ See the passages in Tallqvist, *Sprache der Contracte Nabunaid's*, p. 135, and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hdw.*, p. 662a.

¹⁸ It may not be out of place to recall the description given by Herodotus, Book I, § 181, of the sacred chamber in the temple of Marduk at Babylon, which contained, according to the Greek historian, a golden couch.

serving probably as a border to the couch covering. The passage, Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, 660, 1, where the ḥulānu is brought into direct connection with the couch of a god (ana irši ša Šamaš), bears out incidentally the view here maintained regarding dinnu, and, again, a comparison of the ideographs for ḥulānu with those for nibḥu is instructive and helps us to specify still further the sense of both words. V R. 15 we read —

TU-IB-LAL = nibḥu

TU-GAR-IB-LAL = ḥulānu

While the force of IB-LAL¹⁹ is not altogether clear, the addition of GAR (= šakānu "make") indicates only a slight modification in the making of the ḥulānu. All three words, šalḥu, ḥulānu, and nibḥu, are species of cords and girdles to be fastened around garments or attached to them as borders.

5. So far as I can see, meziḥu occurs in this inscription for the first time. Both here and in ll. 8 and 13 it is followed by the determinative for "wood"—a vague indication again of its being an object woven of reeds or the like. I should like to suggest for this word a comparison with the biblical מְצִיחַ, with which it corresponds exactly in form. The Hebrew מְצִיחַ occurs Job 12:21 in the sense of girdle: מְצִיחַ אֶפְסִיקִים רַפָּה "The meziḥ of the strong he loosens." A slightly variant form מִצָּח (mezaḥ) is found Ps. 109:19, וְלִמְצָח תְּמִיד יִחְגְּרָה "May it be to him like a garment that he puts on and for a mezaḥ encircling him perpetually." A word corresponding to מְצִיחַ actually occurs in a syllabary, V R. 32, 40b, viz., me-za-aḥ, and in confirmation of the proposed identification with the Hebrew word, mezaḥ is explained in the syllabary in question ša up-pi-ti, i.e., "for inclosing." It is very likely, as Delitzsch suggests,²⁰ that the determinative for "leather" preceded the series of words among which mezaḥ occurs. If this is correct, a distinction is thus suggested between mezaḥ and meziḥu, the former being a girdle made of leather, the other woven of some kind of wood fibers, since it is followed in our inscription in both cases by the determinative for "wood."

7. That the garment represented by the ideographs DE-IB-LAL was used for the statues of the gods is shown by Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, No. 410, 5-6,²¹ where (l. 6) a DE-IB-LAL for Shamash and one for his consort are referred to. Zehnpfund's suggestion²² that the ideographs denote "washable clothes" requires no refutation. The reading lubḥ-šum mē-e in Strassmaier, *Nbd.*, 826, 5, which he quotes in support, is not certain. The sign after E can certainly not be regarded as the indication of the plural, and even if this were the case, a rendering "washable stuffs

¹⁹ IB = aḡāgu "fierce" = strong(?) and LAL = eḡēlu = fasten. In K 4412 nibḥu and ezizu "strong" appear as synonyms. See Delitzsch's *Assyr. Hdw.*, p. 443, a-b.

²⁰ *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 232-4.

²¹ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, p. 522.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 534.

for Shamash" is out of the question. Presumably, all clothes worn by the Babylonians could be washed. Of the three ideographs composing the garment, two, IB-LAL, are the same that we have already come across in the equivalents for *ḫulānu* and *nibḫu*. The sign DE, among other things, is used for *niḫṭ* "to sacrifice" (Brünnow, 6727), and since a *ṣubāt niḫṭ* is specifically mentioned in a list V R. 28, 20, c-d, DE-IB-LAL may very well be some kind of a sacrificial dress. A *ṣubāt ḫar-bit* occurs in the Abu-Habba tablet, V R. 61, col. v, 43 and 55, in a series which includes *ḫulānu* and *nibḫu*; and, accepting Jeremias' rendering of "Opfergewand,"²³ I venture to suggest that DE-IB-LAL is the ideographic equivalent to this *ḫarbit*.

7. *Piṣu*. Light and dark clothes are referred to in the lexicographical lists, e. g., V R. 14, obv., a-b, 19, e-tum (dark), 20, pi-ṣa-a-tum (white). See also c-d, 8, pi-ṣa-a-tum(?); 11d, ug-na-a-tum²⁴ "bright;" 12d, a-tu-u "dark brown;" V R. 28, c-d, 13, banṭ "bright."

8. Regarding *zi-ḫu* I have no suggestion to offer.

9. *Kululu*. A *ṣubāt kululi* is mentioned in the list V R. 28, c-d, 17. Unfortunately, the column containing the corresponding ideographs is broken off, so that we are left to conjecture the kind of garment meant from the general meaning of the stem *kalālu* "surround."²⁵ A cloak that is to be thrown around the image of the goddess or god appears to be meant.

11. With regard to this strange AM at the beginning of the line, it is to be noted that here it occurs before *ḫurāṣu*, whereas in the preceding line it follows the word, and similarly in l. 6 it follows the ideographs for *nibḫu*. Strassmaier, *Nbd.*, 217, 2, this same AM is found, though Zehnpfund (*BA.*, I, p. 508), not knowing what to do with it, proposes to substitute some other sign. KI-LAL = *ṣukultu* is here used in a very general sense; of "value," the reference being to the value of the offering for the specific month.

15. Our word *mut-ta-tum* is identical with *mu-ut-ta-tum*, which Zehnpfund discusses *BA.*, I, p. 513; and I have no hesitation in connecting it with *muttatu*, which occurs in one of the so-called family laws (V R. 25, rv. 31). The meaning of front and forehead for *muttatu* can no longer be doubted; and hence our word must be some kind of a chaplet to be placed around the forehead. In the phrase *muttatum ṣa kibsu*²⁶ the latter word is used as the generic term for "band," of which *muttatum* represents a particular species.

16. *Buṣu*. I venture to suggest that we have here the well-known stuff *byssus*. The form is identical with the Hebrew בִּיֶּזֶן, under which the word has made its way into biblical speech. There is no reason why, if *byssus* is an Egyptian stuff, it should not have been imported into Babylonia as well as into Palestine. Naturally, the occurrence of the

²³ *BA.*, I, p. 290.

²⁴ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörtl.*, p. 95.

²⁵ כָּלָל II. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handw.*, p. 332a.

²⁶ Strassmaier, *Nbd.*, 349, 2.

word in Babylonian raises the question whether it is really of Egyptian origin. Its occurrence in the Old Testament in such late books as Chronicles (4:21; 15:27; 2 Chron. 2:13; 3:14; 5:12), Esther (1:6), and Ezekiel (27:16) favors the assumption of the introduction of the word into Hebrew through Babylonian influence. *Ṭimētum* I take from *ṭamū* "to spin."

18. The interesting word *a-su-u-mi-it* requires a word of comment. It is clear from the context that *asumittu* is the technical term for the bas-relief appearing at the head of Nabubaliddin's tablet. Its derivation from a stem *אָדַן* "to adorn"²⁷ suggests that it may have been applied in a wider sense to any decorated tablet. Such is, apparently, the opinion of Delitzsch.²⁸ However, where it actually occurs, a sculptured tablet is thus described, and as against *nartū*, which is an inscribed tablet, *asumittu* is a tablet containing some sculptured figure or scene. This being so, we are enabled to specify the sense of *uṣurtu* and *uṣurātu* occurring in Nabubaliddin's inscription (col. i, 8; iii, 2, 19, 30), and which Latrille (*ZA.*, I, p. 32), as well as Jeremias and Peiser, in their translations of Nabubaliddin's tablet, render as "reliefs." It is hardly likely that the Babylonian should have possessed two technical terms for one and the same object. In the first passage in question *uṣurāti* is used in parallelism with *parṣu* "law."

uhalliḫu uṣurāti
parṣušu immašuma

A rendering,

"The statutes were destroyed,
his (*i. e.*, Shamash's) law forgotten,"

is perfectly acceptable. Similarly col. iii, 2, *nade parakkē uṣṣur uṣurāti*, *šullum parṣē u billudē* is to be translated "to found sanctuaries, to preserve statutes, to carry out laws and decrees." There remain the two passages, col. iii, 19 and 30, *uṣurti ṣalmiṣu*. To render "bas-relief of his image" is tautological. *Uṣurtu* is simply "outline," and the reference is to just such a clay mold as those found in the box with the tablet, and which contained an outline of Shamash's statue that could serve as a model to Nabubaliddin in replacing the destroyed image by an accurate reproduction. An examination of the other passages in which this word occurs will show that these are the only two meanings that we are justified in assuming—"statutes" and "outlines," or, if you choose, "models." There is no necessity of assuming a twofold stem for the word (*אָדַן* and *אָצַר*), as Delitzsch proposes (*Assyr. Hdw.*, p. 122a and p. 309b). From the former both can be derived without much difficulty. A "statute" is an "inclosure" and an "outline" is also something inclosed. For the extension of the word from a legal application to architectural phraseology, one may be permitted to compare the Hebrew *דָּקַן* "decree" from a stem *דָּקַן* "to fix," *i. e.*, indicate limits, and which is similarly applied to the drawing of

²⁷ Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 350.

²⁸ *Assyr. Handwörterb.*, p. 234b.

figures, *i. e.*, contours.²⁹ From this meaning there is a further extension to drawing (Ezek. 23:14) and engraving (*e. g.*, Ezek. 4:1) in general. Jensen,³⁰ in his valuable discussion of *uṣurtu* (and of the synonymous *eṣurtu*), starts out correctly with the meaning "outline" for the term and shows how the word is applied to designate the heavenly constellations, but he is misled into also assuming a meaning "bas-relief." In the passage quoted by him (ZA., II, 170, col. ii, 1) a rendering "the house was not preserved, its outlines were destroyed," is certainly preferable to "its reliefs were destroyed." Similarly in the passage from one of Nabonnedos' inscriptions, V R. 65, col. i, 18, the reference is to the skeleton outlines of the temple which became marked through the havoc wrought; and again, I R. 69, col. iii, 33, where Nabonnedos tells us that he destroyed the walls surrounding a temple, but preserved the "holy of holies" and the *uṣurāti*, the reference is not to bas-reliefs, but to the "outlines" of the building. The use of the word *gabri* "copy" is an indication that Nebopolassar made his mold directly from the bas-relief at the head of Nabubaliddin's tablet.

III.

The inscription is directly connected with the closing portion of Nabubaliddin's tablet, where, after setting forth the manner in which the regular income fixed for the temple animal sacrifices—meal, datewine, fish, and vegetables—is to be distributed among the officials belonging to the temple, Nabubaliddin continues (col. v, 39–vi, 8):

All kinds of festive garments for Shamash, Â, and Bunene. A *pulḫu* dress, a sacrificial dress, a breastplate(?), a border, a cord, light-purple wool, dark-purple wool, a large sacrificial dress, and a sacrificial cloth(?).

These appear to be special gifts offered by the king on the occasion of the dedication of the statue of Shamash and of the restored temple. There follow these specifications ranged in the order of months and fixed as *annual* gifts:

"For the month of Nisan, 7th day, a breastplate.
For the month of Iyar, 10th day, a breastplate.
For the month of Elul, 3d day, a sacrificial dress.
For the month of Tishri, 7th day, a sacrificial dress.
For the month of Marcheshwan, 15th day, a breastplate.
For the month of Adar, 15th day, a sacrificial dress.
A total of six festive garments for each year
the gift of the king to Shamash, Â, and Bunene."

²⁹ Cf. also מִדְּקָרָה (from דְּקָרָה) for "figures drawn on a wall," 1 Kgs. 6:35; Ezek. 8:10; 23:14.

³⁰ *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 348–54.

It will be seen that the months and days specified on the tablet agree with those on the mold. On both we have the months Nisan, Iyar, Elul, Tishri, Marcheshwan, and Adar, *i. e.*, the 1st, 2d, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 12th months, respectively, and the 7th, 10th, 3d, 7th, 15th, and 15th days, respectively. It is evident that these six days in the year represent some kind of festivals celebrated in Shamash's temple. The first half of Nisan is the zagmuk or New Year's festival season.³¹ Of the other festivals the little that we know may be found in my *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 685-6.

The mention of Nebopolassar's name on the mold is all the more welcome in view of the paucity of inscriptions of this king that have as yet been found. Nebopolassar, a Babylonian who served for a time in the Assyrian army, is the founder of the new Babylonian monarchy. In the year 625 B. C. the southern state once more became entirely independent of Assyria. Nebopolassar seized the throne without having the slightest claim upon it by heredity. The fact that he held it for twenty years and was able to hand the government over to his son, the famous Nebuchadnezzar, is a signal proof of his ability. No doubt much of his energy was spent in strengthening his position and in securing the union of the state. Nebuchadnezzar reaps the fruit of the seed sown by his father. In his days the monarchy reached its zenith of glory. The son appreciated how much he owed his father. He never speaks of himself without adding his father's name, and many of the building operations of Nebuchadnezzar are but continuations of works undertaken by Nebopolassar.

Three separate inscriptions of Nebopolassar are now known. One, of which two copies exist,³² records the restoration of the zikkurat of Marduk's temple in Babylon. The king details the care taken to make its foundation solid. He is proud of having himself assisted in the labor and of having pressed his son Nebuchadnezzar into service. In order that future generations may testify to his zeal, he has a bas-relief made of himself with the work-basket on his head, and deposits this image in the

³¹ See the writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 677-82.

³² The better of the two is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum and was published by Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, I, 1, pl. 32-33; the other, in the British Museum, was published by Strassmaier, *ZA.*, IV, 106-13. Two translations have been made, (1) by the late McGee, in his Inaugural Dissertation, 1895 (see *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, III, Part 3, and the forthcoming Vol. IV, Part 1); (2) the other by Karppe, *Revue sémitique*, III, 165-74.

foundation stone. The zikkurat is solemnly dedicated, and the inscription closes with a royal prayer (col. iii, 51-59):

"Oh, Foundation of heaven and earth,³³ bless the king who has restored thee.

When Marduk comes with joy to dwell in thee,
Recall, O Temple, my good deeds to Marduk, my lord."

The other two inscriptions, published by Winckler,³⁴ both deal with the operations of the king at Sippar and were found at Abu-Habba. They thus confirm the conclusion to be drawn from the inscription on our mold, that Nebopolassar was actually present at one time in the city sacred to Shamash. One of these inscriptions—of which, again, two copies exist—is of peculiar interest. It records the fact that in the king's days a change had taken place in the course of the Euphrates, so that, as he expresses it, "the river had separated from the city." By digging a canal, the king turns the river's course back into its old bed, so that during the rainy season its waters could be again directed into the fields adjoining the town, while, as a protection against an overflow, he makes embankments of asphalt and bricks.

The other inscription commemorates the completion of a shrine, E-din, to the Bêlit Sippar, *i. e.*, Â (or Malkatu), the consort of Shamash. The inscription on the mold bears testimony to Nebopolassar's devotion to the great lord of Sippar. He does not apparently undertake any building operations at E-babbara, though it probably needed it,³⁵ but he emphasizes his devotion by dedicating, in imitation of the example set by Nabubaliddin, a yearly offering of certain garments and sacred furnishings for the sacred image of Shamash. By way of establishing a direct contact between himself and the past history of the temple, he takes Nabubaliddin's fine tablet, prepares a mold of the scene sculptured at the top of the tablet, and inscribes a record of his offerings on the back of this mold. The temple must have been in a state of decay in the days of Nebopolassar, for Ashurbanabal had laid siege to the city not many years before Nebopolassar began his career. Nebuchadnezzar tells us that he found it in ruins. We may well suppose that Nebopolassar had formed the intention of restoring it, but prevented from doing so, for one

³³ The name of the zikkurat.

³⁴ *Z.A.*, II, pp. 69-75, 145-7, 172-3.

³⁵ See below.

reason or the other, contented himself with an annual offering. The mention of Nebopolassar's name in the Abu-Habba mold thus constitutes an important link in the history of the temple, the great antiquity of which lends to it unique interest. Next to the temple E-kur at Nippur, there is no other sanctuary whose history can be traced back to so early a period as E-babbara. Through the last king of Babylon, Nabonnedos, we learn that Naram-Sin, whose capital was at Agade, only a short distance from Sippar, placed his name on the foundation stone of the great temple and emphasized in this way his control over Sippar, just as his devotion to En-lil at Nippur was prompted by a desire to testify to his control over that region.³⁶ Of what character the edifice at Sippar was in the days of Naram-Sin we have no means of knowing, but a sanctuary existed even before his days, for an ivory knob has been found containing a dedication of Sargon, the father of Naram-Sin, to "Shamash in Sippar." From the days of Sargon and Naram-Sin we can follow the history of E-babbara through Hammurabi and the Cassite dynasty down to the period of Assyrian supremacy and up to the destruction of the neo-Babylonian empire. From Nabubaliddin, Nabonnedos, and other sources we learn how closely the fortunes of this edifice were bound up with the ups and downs of political events in the Euphrates valley, now overrun by wild hordes from the west and southwest, again rising to new glory under the fostering care of some pious monarch, alternately an object of devotion and an important prize to a southern or northern ruler.

In the inscriptions of Hammurabi there is no direct reference to the temple E-babbara, but that ruler speaks of Sippar and Babylon as "places which he made secure for dwelling," and he calls himself the favorite of Shamash and Marduk. About eight hundred years after Hammurabi, Shagarakti-Buriash, a ruler of the Cassite dynasty, restores a sanctuary to Anunit, who was worshiped in Sippar and whose sanctuary formed a part of the sacred area in that place. This sanctuary also dates back to the days of Sargon. During the internal disturbances that followed upon the downfall of the Cassite dynasty, Sippar and its sacred edifices suffered considerably. In the eleventh century Sippar suffers an invasion by the nomadic hordes known as the Sutu. The temple was destroyed and its contents, including the statue

³⁶ See the writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 642 and pp. 69-70.

of Shamash, pillaged. The attempt is made in the eleventh century by Simmaššihu to restore the cult, but only with partial success. Soon after this ruler the temple cult again is allowed to fall into neglect. It was a period during which Babylonia languished—the prey of adventurers who mounted the throne only to be replaced after a time by a more powerful leader. Again Eulmaš-šakinšum makes an attempt to restore the cult, but it was reserved for Nabubaliddin, about one hundred years later, to raise the temple to its former supremacy.

The Assyrian kings were likewise zealous in their devotion to the great sanctuaries of the south, especially to E-Kur, the temple of Bel at Nippur, to Marduk's temple E-Sagila in Babylon, to E-Zida sacred to Nabu in Borsippa, and to E-babbara in Sippar. We find Esarhaddon building at Sippar. Ashurbanabal found the temple in ruins and rebuilt it in great splendor. Later on in his reign, however, he laid siege to the place, and the temple must have suffered considerably. Nebuchadnezzar tells us that he found E-babbara in ruins and rebuilt it. Several clay cylinders prepared by Nebuchadnezzar have been found at Abu-Habba commemorating this restoration. Nabonnedos, however, complains that the work of Nebuchadnezzar was not effectively done. Shamash—so the last king of Babylon declares—did not regard Nebuchadnezzar's work with favor, and hence, after a short interval of forty-five years, the temple had again to be rebuilt. Nabonnedos' attack upon Nebuchadnezzar is not without political moment. It was the ambition of Nabonnedos to replace Marduk's supremacy, so strongly emphasized by Nebuchadnezzar, by the Nabu and Shamash cults. He actually neglects Babylon in his devotion to sanctuaries outside of the capital. His partiality for Shamash arouses the opposition of the priests of Marduk, who hail Cyrus as the savior of Marduk's honor.

Through the inscription on the mold found with the Abu-Habba tablet we are now in a position to say that Nebopolassar was likewise anxious to pay homage to Shamash of Sippar. The inscription, moreover, suggests a plausible solution for the problem as to the purpose served by such molds. The one containing the inscription is not only the better preserved, but more carefully prepared; the others are rough in execution and impress one as "failures." Nebopolassar's aim was to prepare a good

mold on which an inscription could be placed. He succeeded in doing so. As for the other copies, I am not at all certain that they may not have been made in the year 1881 A. D. by some enterprising Arabs. The fact that the Constantinople mold points to another copy of the tablet that has disappeared is suspicious, and Mr. Pinches, it will be recalled, in one place speaks of only "one mold." If the two others turned up later, they may have been produced by the law of demand and supply.

MACLEAN'S GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF VERNACULAR SYRIAC.¹

By BENJAMIN LABAREE, D.D.,

Urumiah, Persia.

This grammar, which has now been before the public some three years or more, is beyond question the most valuable treatise upon the Syriac as spoken today which has yet appeared from any source. Designate the language as we may, "Modern Syriac," or "New Syriac," or more accurately and fittingly, as the "Vernacular Syriac," it quite deserves the attention given it by Semitic students since it first came to their notice some fifty years ago, for its almost singular survival as a spoken tongue out of the large family of Syriac languages. As a distinct advance on all previous studies of this vernacular Dean Maclean's grammar is very welcome, especially for the breadth of its survey and the fulness of its treatment of existing dialects.

The small *Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language* by the American missionary, David Tappan Stoddard, published by the American Oriental Society in its *Journal* in 1855 (Vol. V, pp. 1-180), was the first attempt to acquaint the world with the structure and grammatical peculiarities of this hitherto unknown tongue, and for long it was the only authority on the subject. This, however, was brought out before opportunity was had for any extended and thorough investigation of the language, especially as regards its numerous dialects. Stoddard's attention was confined chiefly to the dialect of Urumiah, where the American Mission Press was just beginning to develop a new Syriac literature. The urgent demands of missionary operations in those early days forbade the devoting much time to purely linguistic pursuits. A too short life for the brilliant young graduate of Yale doubtless deprived the world of riper studies which might reasonably have been expected of one who began so promisingly.

¹ GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF VERNACULAR SYRIAC, as spoken by the Eastern Syrians of Kurdistan, North-west Persia, and the plain of Mosul. With notices of the vernacular of the Jews of Azerbaijan, and of Zakhū, near Mosul. By Arthur John Maclean, M.A., F.R.G.S., Dean of Argyle and the Isles, sometime Head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Eastern Syrians. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1895.

On the basis of this grammar of Stoddard's and publications of the Urumiah Press, the eminent Semitic scholar, Professor Nöldeke, prepared his *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache*, published in 1868. The sound philological principles applied here in the examination of the language threw much new scientific light upon it; yet even this scholarly work was not as complete as was to be desired, because the materials with which it dealt were drawn almost exclusively from the one dialect of Urumiah. The honor has fallen to Dean Maclean to make a really comprehensive study of the language and present a comparative view of all its dialects. The dean enjoyed exceptional advantages for such an undertaking during his five years' residence in Persia as the influential head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Eastern Syrians, where it was my pleasure to know him as a genial acquaintance and indefatigable student. The field for investigation before him was a wide one. It is almost a Babel of dialects one meets in passing between Urumiah and the Tigris, presenting many difficult problems. But the dean brought to the task a scholarly relish for such pursuits, careful habits of observation, and a definite aim to harmonize the linguistic differences of the various tribes. Whether we agree with all his methods, and whether we accept all his conclusions, or contrariwise, it must be candidly admitted that he has brought the whole body of linguistic scholars under much obligation. That he has approached the study of the language from a different point of view from that taken by the American missionaries, and has advanced opinions somewhat at variance with theirs, will not be altogether regretted, even by them. Such investigations help to a better cultivation of the language among the Syriac-speaking peoples themselves, in itself a consideration of first importance. That Dean Maclean should speak of Stoddard's grammar as "chiefly useful for its list of the verbs used on the plain," when leading philologists for half a century past have acknowledged their great obligations to it, is, however, ungenerous, not to say unjust.

It may be of use here to point out the different aims of the American and Anglican scholars, as explaining the differing systems which they have developed in dealing with this vernacular Syriac. The early American laborers in the language, from whom oriental scholars got their first important knowledge of

it, in attempting to reduce it into shape for the creation of a new missionary literature, fully recognized the complexity of its dialects. They secured as their associates the best scholars then known in the Nestorian church, including representatives of other than the Urumiah dialect, to whose opinions they wisely showed much deference. By this united scholarship it was agreed that there was no way of blending in one all the variant dialects, but that some one dialect should be adopted as the standard, making it the vehicle of communication for all the nation. It was decided, further, that the Urumiah dialect, being the largest member of the family, as well as the simplest in form, and the most terse and forceful, was the one that promised best for their purpose. With Urumiah as the center of missionary and educational institutions, this form of the language would naturally secure the widest attention and hold among the people. In a certain degree these expectations have been realized. Readers in the Urumiah dialect number now many more than in all the others put together. Students from all sections of the nation have become thoroughly familiar with it through the American schools and books. It is by all odds the leading dialect in the vernacular Syriac today. Whether the American scholars should not have deferred more to the usage of other leading dialects in respect to vocabulary, verbal forms, and the more etymological writing of the language, where such usage was in closer conformity to the classical Old Syriac, is a question open to debate.

Stoddard and his colleagues were not indifferent to such important considerations. He writes in his grammar (p. 13): "Many words have a different sound from what they had formerly, and yet for the sake of etymology it is considered important to retain the original spelling. It is often a matter of much doubt how far we are permitted to go in defacing the escutcheon of words and obliterating all traces of their ancestry." Again he writes (p. 14): "As familiarity is acquired with the language spoken in all the dialects, reasons are often found for changing orthography which was supposed to be definitely settled." In certain matters Stoddard and his coadjutors in the language were probably more or less influenced by specimens still remaining of attempts by scholars on the plain of Mosul, two or three hundred years earlier, to write the vernacular of that dialect. The use of the *alap* instead of *he* as the final letter of the third person

singular of the preterite tense is doubtless an instance of this influence. Had the modern theory been in vogue then, that the origin of the vernacular Syriac is not to be sought in the written or classical Syriac, but in some other sister branch of the family, it is believed the founders of the American system would have broken away still further from the trammels of Old Syriac ancestry.

Turning now to the system adopted by Dean Maclean and his colleagues of the Anglican Mission, we discover quite a different aim. The dean says in his Introduction (p. xvii): "The method here adopted will not give the exact colloquial language of any one dialect; but it aims rather at producing a literary style which will make communication between the various districts easier." Of course, such a purpose must lead to quite different results from the one which shaped the American policy, and should be borne in mind in our examination of the dean's grammar. Any exhibition of the language on such lines will naturally render it less valuable as a text-book for the acquisition of the modern Syriac as it is actually spoken. Whether the effort to give the language a literary dress for general use will prove more successful than the attempt to elevate the leading dialect to such a position remains to be seen. It has not as yet received the indorsement of the American and French missionaries in their popular Syriac literatures. Both these bodies hold to the Urumiah dialect as their standard, though each exercises some independence in respect to orthography and vocabulary. The French system has decidedly improved of late years, rejecting many of its early crudities incident to its origin under the influence of the Salmas dialect; in fact, it has come to conform closely to the American system.

It is but fair to say that both have modified somewhat since Dean Maclean's studies have called attention to some needed etymological reconstructions. But the dean's extreme devotion to the etymologies has not carried with him, I think I am quite safe in averring, the sane judgment of the body of Syriac scholars on the ground. He contends that "the vernacular must be treated as a historical language, not as one invented in the present generation; in other words etymology must be considered" (Introd., p. xvi). This position is certainly at variance with the opinions held by the best modern philologists. A dozen years

ago Professor Nöldeke expressed to the writer his judgment that even the American missionaries had allowed etymology to play "somewhat too great a rôle." Dean Maclean's zeal for this principle, moreover, blinds him often to one of his own fundamental positions. He argues ably that the origin of the vernacular Syriac is not to be sought in the written or classical language, in which he has followed the leading Semitic scholars of the day. As he says: "Much or most of it [spoken Syriac] was doubtless in use side by side with the written classical Syriac for centuries" (Introd., p. xv). And he sums up the evidences in support of this statement as follows, in brief: "It retains in many cases forms less developed than corresponding forms in the written language. . . . The contractions in the tenses of the vernacular show independence of the written language. Many words are found in the former which are not used in the latter, but which are found in the Chaldee and other Aramaic dialects. So some of the compounds which are survivals of the construct state and some few remaining agents of the old form are formed from verbs not found even in the latest classical Syriac, though used now; this would show that these verbs were in use in speaking, though not in writing, before these now almost obsolete constructions were given up." After such emphasis on the independence of the vernacular and classical languages it is not a little surprising how the author labors insistently to demonstrate the intimate connection of the two. Almost every page of his grammar is significantly marked with the expression "= O. S.," and on such assumed etymological descent the birthright of N. S. words to a certain form of spelling is considered established. There is no disposition on our part to belittle the value of a scientific comparison of the two languages, nor the importance of some of Dean Maclean's studies along this line. But when he goes beyond the interesting search for historical relations, and lays down the rule that the spelling of the classical Syriac should be taken as the basis for spelling the vernacular (Introd., p. xvi), we contend that he has no ground for such a claim even on his own historical showing.

Again, our author's etymological principles run athwart one of the marked characteristics of the vernacular Syriac and so against sound philology. Every language must be dealt with in harmony with its own genius for development. Dean Maclean

has presented with much fulness the tendency of New Syriac to *simplification*. This he has done particularly in his valuable paper read before the International Congress held in London in 1892. He says, for example: "As the old past and future tenses have disappeared, the objective pronominal affixes have been greatly simplified, and even in the imperative, which remains, the affixes of O. S. are not used." "Generally the contractions in the tenses in the vernacular show independence of those of O. S." "A further simplification takes place in the conjugations." This contrast between the vernacular and the classical languages, showing the trend of the former toward simplification, is of much importance. But in Dean Maclean's efforts to reconstruct the vernacular on etymological lines he has too often lost sight of this principle.

With these general statements of what we conceive to be unsound philological processes in this grammar, we will present some practical illustrations of faulty methods and results.

VERBAL ROOTS.

In the first place we will consider the author's treatment of verbal roots.

We are struck here with the frequent use of silent letters. The *talqana* is very much in evidence. He seems to have reached a conclusion as to the O. S. origin of a verb, and then, to preserve to the eye the suggested pedigree, he inserts an unsounded letter with *talqana*. Too often the supposed genealogy is a doubtful one. But admitting its correctness, the procedure is without indorsement from sound philologists. One of them has remarked relative to this very case in hand: "Writing does not exist to embalm 'etymologies,' but to represent, as nearly as can be, pronunciation." The attempts in the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier, to give written form to the *Alqosh* dialect may have followed, as Dean Maclean declares, "the baldest phonetic principles." But those courageous scholars were simply ahead of their times. They were anticipating the principles of the Spelling Reform Associations of England and America, and their work was in line with the general tendency of the vernacular Syriac to simplification.

Illustrations of the method we are criticising are found on pp. 98, 103, 310, 311. He speaks of verbs with a second or

final radical silent, and cites examples as follows (p. 98): ܐܠܝܢ, ܐܠܝܢܝ, ܐܠܝܢܝܢ,² etc., deriving them from O. S. roots in which the *gamel* appears and is sounded. In the American and French systems this weak medial is represented by ܐ ('e) to support the second vowel, which is only dropped in pure colloquial speech, as it is even in such words as ܐܠܝܢܝܢ, ܐܠܝܢܝܢ, where the ܐ is historically correct. Perhaps ܐ would be a better support for the articulation of the vowel rather than ܐ, and either is preferable to ܐ. The latter compels the belief that an O. S. stem is the basis from which a *gamel* has disappeared, which may or may not be true.

There are a few verbs variously pronounced where it seems desirable to introduce a silent letter to render them more intelligible to readers in all dialects; thus ܐܠܝܢܝܢ in Urumiah is in Tiary ܐܠܝܢܝܢ. We write ܐܠܝܢܝܢ because the imperative has in Urumiah ܐܠܝܢܝܢ and in Kurdistan ܐܠܝܢܝܢ. But we have all gone farther, probably, than was necessary in preserving the root letters in all forms of the verb when not sounded. The ancient classical language is not bound by any such rule. In ܐ verbs it does not insert *nun* with *talqana* wherever it has become otiose, nor the *lamad* in those forms of ܐܠܝܢܝܢ in which that letter is assimilated. Such precedents certainly justify considerable liberty in writing the vernacular, still in its formative literary stage of development. Quite rightly Dean Maclean now writes the N. S. verb ܐܠܝܢܝܢ without the *lamad* formerly inserted to show its connection with O. S. ܐܠܝܢܝܢ. But in one instance he rules out of the vernacular one valuable verb altogether, ܐܠܝܢܝܢ "to enter," because he has found no origin for it. So he makes ܐܠܝܢܝܢ (O. S. ܐܠܝܢܝܢ "to pass by") serve in the two senses, "to pass by" and "to enter," which is a great loss to the language. ܐܠܝܢܝܢܝܢܝܢ may mean "they passed the house," or "they entered the house."

A conspicuous feature in Dean Maclean's treatment of the verb is his use of the preformative *mim* in verbs of the second conjugation. The use or omission of this *mim* practically separates the Nestorian tribes into two grand divisions, which we may in general terms denominate as the northern and the southern families, the dialect of Urumiah affiliating most closely with the northern group.

² In Maclean's system the *g* in these words is written with *talqana* to indicate that it is silent; our types do not permit us to reproduce this peculiarity.

Dean Maclean writes the *mim* with *talqana* when the verb is written for Urumiah use, otherwise without. As it is wholly foreign to the usage of the northern dialects, the American and French presses do not recognize it. Were we to adopt it, we should be forced into the incongruous necessity of attaching this unpronounced sign to words never used outside of the northern division, some of them coming from foreign languages, simply to maintain good grammatical form, as Dean Maclean does repeatedly.

VERBAL FORMS AND DERIVATIVES.

We turn now to discuss our author's treatment of verbal forms and derivatives.

His analysis of the verb corresponds with that given by Professor Nöldeke. He, of course, accepts the latter's derivation of the preterite tense from the old past participle, to which pronominal affixes are added with a uniting Δ , its strictly passive force being inverted into an active one, precisely similar constructions appearing in O. S. Thus Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ strictly rendered signifies "killed by me was that man," but in the vernacular it is the simple direct form for "I killed that man." We have an analogous form in somewhat frequent use: Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ = "it was finished by me" = "I finished."

But we see no reason for separating the participle and the suffixes as Dean Maclean does. They are spoken as in the closest union, and should be so written; thus Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ instead of Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ . In verbs with final *lamad*, *nun*, or *resh* the connecting *lamad* is by rule always dropped and the pronoun joins directly to the stem; thus we have Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ , Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ , Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ . And all verbs ought to be treated in the same way in the interests of simplicity and uniformity.

Some would carry the simplification still farther and drop the *yud khwasa* from the stem, substituting for it short *zlama*, thus Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ for Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ . This abbreviation is in use in the Alqosh, American, and French systems. In favor of writing with the Δ is the fact that it occurs in other forms and words where it is pronounced the same as short *zlama*, noticeably in the feminine form of the passive participle and the tense compounded with it, and also in the feminine of numerous adjectives. Thus we have Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ *m.*, Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ *f.* "cut," Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ *m.*, Δ ܕܝܠܝܢܝܐ *f.* "pleasant." In a

in the two words ܐܢܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ are pronounced exactly alike, and why should they not be written alike in representation of the same pronoun? The only objection we can conceive of, apart from a half century of contrary practice, is the possible confusion when the same form of the verb requires a pronominal suffix in the third person objective case. Thus ܐܢܝܢܐ may mean "he commanded," or he "commanded him," the latter form being quite frequent. But the objection is not a very serious one.

COMPOUND WORDS.

In Dean Maclean's exhibition of compound words we discover the same disposition, already remarked upon in his treatment of verbs and their derivatives, to a too slavish adherence to the principles of the classical language, at variance with the tendency of the vernacular to a more free development and greater simplicity. For example, in the word which he gives as ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "supper," which is pronounced as if written ܐܬܡܢܐ, and which has so been spelled hitherto. It is possible that the etymology of the word is correctly indicated by the dean, from ܐܬܡܢܐ "to eat," and ܐܬܡܢܐ "evening," but what need to parade this learning outside of the dictionary? So in the surviving instances of the construct case, why not write them simply as a single word instead of dividing them into two, with sundry silent letters to remind the reader of a possible ancestry? So we should write ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "spider's web," ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "butterfly," ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "ivory." When the pronunciation seems to demand it, the two parts may be written separately, as ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "rainbow," ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "holy of holies." On the same principle omit the silent letters in such compounds as ܐܬܡܢܐ "a few," ܐܬܡܢܐ "several," ܐܬܡܢܐ (or write ܐܬܡܢܐ) "then," ܐܬܡܢܐ "Sunday," ܐܬܡܢܐ "Tuesday," ܐܬܡܢܐ "morning." The classical language furnishes numerous instances of the composition of words on this principle, as ܐܬܡܢܐ for ܐܬܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ "human" (see Duval, *Grammaire Syriacque*, p. 243, for other similar formations). Who would insist that we ought to amend the old Syriac spelling in order to more exactly exhibit the etymology of such words?

We cannot refrain here from calling attention to one rather amusing error of our author's along this line, which we are sure he must himself have already discovered. It occurs in § 16, *g*. Among his specimens of the surviving construct case phrases he gives

“bat.” But this is a pure Turkish compound, Turkish in both its component parts, and the δ is wholly a fancy of the etymology hunter. It is not the only instance in which the dean’s unfamiliarity with the other languages of the country has been a disadvantage to his work. On p. 249 he raises the question whether the Δ in $\Delta\delta$ and $\Delta\delta\delta$ is radical or not, when both words have come into the language from the Turkish in precisely their present full form. On p. 249 the Persian $\Delta\delta\delta$ is primarily “armlet,” and secondarily “amulet.” $\delta\delta$ in Persian is “arm,” not “calf,” as this grammar states. Again, it will hardly do to designate the Arabic and Turkish adjectives $\Delta\delta$, $\Delta\delta\delta$, $\Delta\delta\delta$ as Syriac “impersonal verbs” as our author does (p. 151, 3) and “thus conjugated.” Their use is exactly what it is in their original tongues and in Persian, either as adjectives with the substantive verb, which latter is often elided (as $\Delta\delta$ $\Delta\delta\delta$ for $\Delta\delta$ $\Delta\delta$ $\Delta\delta\delta$ “it is necessary he come”), and sometimes as nouns with pronominal affixes (see p. 55), but in no sense can they be called verbs. We have never heard the plural form of any of these words used as is stated in this paragraph; the author has evidently confounded the sound of the first-personal pronoun ending with the plural ending.

There are some matters relating to Dean Maclean's exhibition of the verbs which we have reserved from the preceding discussion for separate consideration. His classification of the regular verbs into two principal conjugations is the same as that adopted by his predecessors. Outside of these fall the causatives and the quadriliterals. A better classification would seem^s to be to recognize three conjugations, viz., the simple, derived from the primitive *Pe'al*, and corresponding to it in meaning generally; the intensive, from the primitive *Pa'el*; and the causative, from the ancient *Aph'el*. Thus :

- I. **فُجِدَ، وَجِدَ، وَلَجِدَ** (intrans.), "to go out."
 II. **فُجِدَ، مَجِدَ، مَجِدَ، مَجِدَ، مَجِدَ**, "to put out."
 III. **فُجِدَ، مَجِدَ، مَجِدَ، مَجِدَ**, "to cause to get out."

Of course, not every root has all these forms, though theoretically all may have them, and practically many do, and there is much advantage in presenting them in such scientific relation.

³This suggestion is advocated by Rev. W. A. Shedd, missionary at Urumiah, who has made a special and scientific study of the language for seven years.

The quadriliteral verbs in general fall into the second conjugation, a few come under the first.

In his arrangement of tenses Dean Maclean places at the head **פָּרַח**, calling it the "first present." As presenting the stem root of the verb, it deserves a foremost position in any classification, but its claim to be called "first present" is apparently only the fact that it is derived from the present participle of the primitive verb. With the proper prefixes it is either a future, past, or historic present. Without them it is used either in a dependent sense in connection with some other verb, or in the second and third persons as an imperative. In every particular it conforms to the usage of the optative or subjunctive in Turkish and Persian.

A readily intelligible comprehension of the verb conjugation is much embarrassed by the absence of any full paradigm of the several tenses. A complete paradigm of the whole verb on the basis of the fragmentary ones given on pp. 93, 94, showing first the standard form, as advocated by the author, and then comparative forms from the more important dialects, would have greatly contributed to the value of the work as a text-book. This lack is even more impatiently felt in a study of the irregular verbs. This is a field of great confusion at best, and the author has not facilitated the student in mastering the intricacies as he should have done. He simply presents a bewildering mass of material, out of which the student must pick the order of the particular colloquial he may be investigating. The treatment of the substantive verb is especially unsatisfactory, wholly inadequate for the wants of any but expert Semitic students. Two tenses are exhibited on p. 74, while the verb from which they are in part supposed to have come, and which supplies all the other tenses, is noticed in a single paragraph among the irregular verbs, p. 123.

A surprising statement is made on p. 76, to the effect that the imperative of the substantive verb is not very much used in the sense "to be." Can the author so soon have forgotten the constantly recurring usage of the schoolroom at least, **הָרַחֵם** "be quick," **הָשִׁיב** "be sensible" = "behave," **הָשִׁיב** or **הָשִׁיב** "be careful," **הָשִׁיב** "be quiet," **הָשִׁיב** "be ready," etc., etc.

There are quite a number of other points in this grammar where our observation and judgment are at variance with the author's. We should like to indicate some etymologies to which

exception might fairly be taken, and some definitions incorrectly given, as well as some statements in grammar, of lesser importance, to be sure, but which we regard as misleading; but our article has already trespassed on the courtesy of this JOURNAL's pages. We will, therefore, sum up in a few concluding words.

The author seems to have had four principal ends in view in the preparation of his grammar. 1) To present to foreign scholars a more extended survey of the vernacular Syriac. 2) To elucidate the historic relations of the language. 3) To elaborate a "literary style" which shall serve as a bond of union between the different dialects of the Syrians. 4) To aid practical students of the language in their acquisition of it.

On the first of these points we must concede to Dean Maclean a large measure of success. He certainly has given an exhaustive survey of the language which leaves little to be desired—at once a boon to Semitic scholarship and an honor to his industrious researches. He has also done some valuable work in developing the historic aspects of this interesting relic of a once great family of spoken Syriac. At the same time we believe that with a wider scientific training, and with a firmer curb on his "O. S." enthusiasm, he would have reached results more in accord with the consensus of philological opinion. On the third point, it seems quite doubtful if the dean's "literary style" will ever become popular among the Syriac-speaking peoples. There is no evidence now of any general disposition to accept it. As to the adaptation of the grammar for use among practical students of the language we must, again, speak qualifiedly. The author has sacrificed too much to his exhibition of the usage of dialectal peculiarities to make it an easy text-book for ordinary students. It also is lacking in systematic and helpful arrangement. But then we must bear in mind that he could not be expected to develop all his aims alike well, and that he stated in his Introduction that his method was not designed to give an exact knowledge of any one colloquial dialect.*

* P. xvii.

THE INTERCHANGE OF SIBILANTS AND DENTALS IN SEMITIC.

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The following table is an attempt to arrange in a symmetrical form the already recognized equations of interchange of sibilants and dentals in the Semitic languages. The equations, such as $\text{ס} = \text{ש} = \text{ח}$, $\text{ט} = \text{ז} = \text{ז}$, have been long established, but the arrangement in which they are now presented is, I believe, new. The characters are taken as they appear in Semitic orthography; and the relationship which we find them to assume is stated without considering, at least in the first instance, what sounds may lie behind those characters. Further, it will be noticed that, though it is necessary at first to speak of these as sibilants and dentals, the table itself does not recognize any such distinction. The characters do not fall into sibilants and dentals, but into two groups of two classes each, in which the sibilants and dentals are scattered. The very use of these terms, also, would be a begging of the question, as we are concerned now only with the signs themselves and not with their phonetic values.

The languages of which account is taken in the tables are Arabic, Hebrew, old Aramaic, and middle Aramaic. Assyrian is omitted, as it would involve transliteration and thus raise the phonetic question. By old Aramaic I mean the oldest form of Aramaic known to us, that exhibited in the inscriptions of Zenjirli. Into this period might also in part be reckoned the inscription of Taymā and the fragments of Egyptian Aramaic; even, in one or two points, biblical Aramaic. By middle Aramaic I mean especially the Aramaic dialect of Edessa, commonly called Syriac. This arrangement is convenient, as it leaves the name modern Aramaic for the different Aramaic dialects that have survived to be spoken at the present day.

I shall now state, with examples chosen from the vocabulary of the Zenjirli inscriptions, the first six equations, using Hebrew characters with a bar above to represent the archaic Semitic.

$\text{ש} = \text{ח} = \text{ח} = \text{ז}$; example $\text{אֵל, אָח, אָחָה, אַת}$.
 $\text{ז} = \text{ש} = \text{ש} = \text{ז}$; example $\text{מֶלֶךְ, שָׁקֵל, שָׁקַל, תָּקַל}$.
 $\text{ח} = \text{ש} = \text{ש} = \text{ח}$; example $\text{אִחַ, שָׁחִי, שָׁחִי, סָחָה}$.
 $\text{ז} = \text{ד} = \text{ד} = \text{ז}$; example $\text{אִם, דָּ, דָּ, יָד}$.
 $\text{ז} = \text{ז} = \text{ז} = \text{ז}$; example $\text{זָהָב, זָהָב, זָהָב, זָהָב}$.
 $\text{ז} = \text{ז} = \text{ז} = \text{ז}$; example $\text{זָרַע, זָרַע, זָרַע, זָרַע}$.

These equations may now be arranged thus:

b.		I.		a.	
ז	ז	ז	Arabic	س	ث
ז	ז	ז	Hebrew	ש	ח
ז	ז	ז	Old Aramaic	ש	ח
ז	ז	ז	Middle Aramaic	ז	ז

Here it has been necessary to mark the Arabic س as س because there is another س which does not = ש . The following points should be noticed: First, in Arabic we have three separate signs in each division, but in Hebrew, old Aramaic, and middle Aramaic only two signs in each. Next, the arrangement of these last signs is significant. Hebrew and old Aramaic bracket Arabic س and ث , ז and ז under one sign each— ש (ש) and ז ; this can only mean that there was some kinship between Arabic س and ث , ז , and ז . But middle Aramaic, having also only two signs, brackets Arabic س and ث under ז , ז and ז under ז , which again indicates that there must be some kinship between these signs. The result seems to be that the signs of these three equations must be regarded as being joined in a specially close relationship one to the other. Two columns are bound together by middle Aramaic and other two by old Aramaic and Hebrew. That is, we are forced to believe that the sounds indicated by these characters, whatever they may have been and however they may have varied at different stages in the development of the languages to which they belong, stood in a closer relationship to one another than they did to any one of the other sounds in these languages.

The remaining six equations may be stated thus:

$\text{ט} = \text{ט} = \overline{\text{ט}} = \text{ט}$; example $\text{סמך}, \text{חסר}, \text{חטף}$.
 $\text{ظ} = \text{צ} = \overline{\text{צ}} = \text{ט}$; example $\text{הנה}, \text{צור}, \text{ظ}$.
 $\text{ص} = \text{צ} = \overline{\text{צ}} = \text{ט}$; example $\text{לב}, \text{נציב}, \text{נציב}, \text{نصب}$.
 $\text{ض} = \text{צ} = \text{p} = \text{ד}$; example $\text{אנח}, \text{ארק}, \text{ארץ}, \text{ارض}$ (bibl. Aram. once p)
 $\text{ش} = \text{ש} = \text{ט} = \overline{\text{ט}} = \text{ט}$ (bibl. Aram. ט); example $\text{שׂים}, \text{שׂים}, \text{שׂים}$,
 שמר (bibl. Aram. שׂים).
 $\text{س} = \text{ס} = \overline{\text{ס}} = \text{ט}$; example $\text{סגר}, \text{סגר}, \text{سجن}$.

These equations may then be arranged thus:

b.			II.	a.		
س	ش	ض	. . . Arabic . . .	ص	ظ	ط
ס — ש or ט	צ	. . . Hebrew . . .		צ — צ	צ	ט
$\overline{\text{ס}}$	$\overline{\text{ש}}$	$\overline{\text{פ}}$. . Old Aramaic . .	$\overline{\text{צ}}$ — $\overline{\text{צ}}$	$\overline{\text{צ}}$	$\overline{\text{ט}}$
ט —(B. A. ש) ט	ד	. Middle Aramaic .		ט	ט	ט

Here in Table IIa the relationships are exactly the same as in the first table. Arabic has three signs; Hebrew, old Aramaic, and middle Aramaic only two. But while old Aramaic agrees with Hebrew in spelling צור with the same letter with which it spells נציב —thus bracketing under one sign Arabic ظ and ص —middle Aramaic הנה , the apparently lineal descendant of old Aramaic צור , has gone over to the other side and brings under one sign Arabic ط and ظ .

When we turn now to Table IIb, we find that it is not Arabic alone which has three signs, but also old Aramaic and, partially, Hebrew. In old Aramaic we have $\overline{\text{ס}}$, $\overline{\text{ש}}$, and פ entirely distinct; in Hebrew some words bring Arabic س and ش under one sign ט , others maintain the difference by means of ש . The number of cases, though, of $\text{ט} = \text{ش}$ is sufficiently great to show again a kinship between those two columns. But when we look down to middle Aramaic, we find there the extraordinary phenomenon that there the signs are related according to the law of old Aramaic in the other three tables. If a hypothesis may be

hazarded, it is as though some influence had been here at work to check the process of development, and thus that stage only had been reached which was attained elsewhere seven or eight centuries earlier. Hebrew could only go through a partial change; old Aramaic could not change at all; and it was left to middle Aramaic to develop to the position elsewhere held by its ancestor.

But the absolute uniformity of the table turns upon the question, Can any relation be proved between the column in IIb headed by Arabic **ض** and those headed by **ش** and **س**? Evidently the nexus provided elsewhere by middle Aramaic is not possible here—the development has been too much retarded. Further, we have in the **ض** column that most singular \bar{p} appearing in old Aramaic and developing into **س** in middle Aramaic. If things had run their natural course, in place of **س** we should have had **ش**. Can, then, any sign of **צ** be found in the other two columns? It is at least curious that both **ש** and **ס** have a tendency to interchange with **צ**. We have **שחק** and **סחק**, **שפך** and **צפך**. The influence of neighboring letters is, of course, a thing to be taken into account, but here we find the different forms *in the one language*. Further, we have **ספ** = **سپ**; yet, in this case, the influence of the **p** may legitimately be urged. But, finally, that extraordinary \bar{p} which appears in old Aramaic as = **ض**, **צ**, and **س**, points in the same direction. Lagarde showed the alphabetical relationship of **ס** to **ξ**, and deduced that the original sound of **ס** must have been a *ksh* or *ks*. Have we not here a remnant of that *k* and a link to join **ס** and **צ**?

Abandoning the purely alphabetical, it may be worth while to look at one or two consequences as to Semitic sounds that would flow from the acceptance of the above tables. Did Hebrew and old Aramaic really possess as many sounds as Arabic, but with only two signs to the three sounds, or had two sounds in each case really come together? That in Aramaic the bracketing should first swing in the one direction and then in the other would seem to suggest that some trace at least of three sounds had remained. But, further, the regularity of the change, as brought out in these tables, renders untenable the view of D. H. Müller that it was mere accident that led the Hebrews and Arameans in their choice of sounds to be grouped under one sign.

No law of accident could make the pendulum swing so regularly to one side and then to the other.

Again, Sachau has pointed out that the change in Aramaic of ܐ to ܐ apparently took place in the fourth century, and of ܘ to ܘ in the sixth. Is it possible to find an explanation of this in that gradual pushing southward on the part of Aramaic which brought it into immediate contact with Arabic? The Aramean merchants, pronouncing שָׁקֵל with a ܘ or something like it, met a people pronouncing ثَقْل; the ܬ seemed to their ears nearer to their ܬ than to their ܘ, and thus the change gradually came about. So in the other cases. When they paid or received ܕܠܝܒ, their Arab customers talked of ذَهَب, and thus they fell into pronouncing ܕܠܝܒ. The mountains of the desert to them were ܥܘܪ, but the Arabs used some form from ظَر, and the Arameans came thus to ܥܘܪ.

Finally, these tables would seem to involve that ܫ and ܥ had originally part in that mysterious إِطْبَاق which Arab grammarians assign to ط, ظ, ص, and ض.

Contributed Notes.

1. ⁹⁴תִּימָם.

Among the interesting collections of folk-tales and romances forming a part of the extensive literature of the Moriscos (Spanish-Arabic dialect), some of which are copiously quoted by Dr. Max Grünbaum in his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893), pp. 240 sq., is a volume bearing the following title: "Joseph Morgan, Mahometism Fully Explained. Written in Spanish and Arabick, anno 1603, for the instruction of the Moriscos in Spain by Mahomet Rabadan, an Arragonian Moor." The author, a *Christiano nuevo*, composed his work originally in verse and transmits many very interesting traditions of the Moslems, to some of which Grünbaum has given rabbinic parallels. Speaking of Joseph, the author says (p. 188, *apud* Grünbaum, *loc. cit.*, p. 251) that when he was in prison, the angel Gabriel appeared before him and permitted him to use *sand* instead of water for purification, if water was not at hand. "Hence originated the injunction concerning ⁹⁴תִּימָם with which the holy Sunnah has charged us." As the original text is not accessible to me, I cannot reproduce the passage. In my notes on this subject, *AJSL.*, Vol. XV, No. 1, October, 1898, pp. 55-6, reference should have been made to Geiger's prize essay, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Bonn, 1833), p. 89; Reckendorf's Hebrew translation of the Qurān, *אלקוראן או המקרא* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 47, n. 4; Wiesner's *Scholien zum babylonischen Talmud* [I. Heft, Berachoth] (Prag, 1859), p. 37, where Lamartine's *History of the Turks*, Vol. IV, p. 21, is quoted.

2. PRAYERS FOR RAIN.

In Talmud Babli, tractate *Taanith*, chap. III, f. 19a, we read the following story:

מעשה שאמרו לו להוני המעגל התעלל שירדו גשמים אמר להם צאו והכניסו תנורי פסחים בשביל שלא ימוקו התפלל ולא ירדו גשמים מזה עשה עג עוגה ועמד בתוכה ואמר לפניו רבש"ע בניך שמו פניהם עלי שאני כבן בית לפניך נשבע אני בשמך הגדול שאיני זו מכאן עד שתרחם על בניך התחילו גשמים מנטפין אמר לא כך שאלתי אלא גשמי בורות שיחין ומערות התחילו לירד בזקק אמר לא כך שאלתי אלא גשמי רצון ברכה ונדבה ירדו כתיקן עד שיצאו ישראל מירושלים להר הבית מפני הגשמים באו ואמרו לו כשם

שהתפלל עליהם שירדו כך התפלל שילכו להן אמר להם צאו וראו אם נמחית אבן הטועין שלה לו שמעון בן שטח אלמלא חוני אתה גזרני עלך נדודי אבל מה אעשה לך שאתה מתחטא לפני המקום ועושה לך רצונך כבן שדו מתחטא על אביו ועושה לו רצונו ועליך הכתוב אומר ישמח אביך ואמך ותגל יולדתך.

Choni the Maagel (circling charmer) was once asked to pray for rain. "Go," said he, "and bring in the paschal stoves (in which the lambs were roasted), that they may not be damaged by the water." He then prayed for rain, but none came. He next described a circle, and posting himself in the middle, he said: "Lord of the universe! I swear by Thy great name that I shall not leave this circle until Thou shalt show compassion to Thy children." Upon this, drops began to fall. "I have not asked for this," said he, "but for such abundance as to fill wells, ditches, and caves." A tempest of rain was the result. "No," said he, "that is not what I ask, but rain of pleasantness, blessing, and free will." The rain moderated, but continued to fall till Israel had to leave Jerusalem for the temple mount on account of the swelling torrents. "Pray now," they cried, "for its discontinuance." "Go and see," said he, "whether the water has covered the Inquiry Stone" (whither lost property was brought and restored to its lawful claimants).¹ Simeon ben Shetach (flor. ca. 100 B. C.) sent him the following message: "Were it any other man but Choni, I would decree his excommunication; but what can I do unto thee, whose presumption, like that of a son against his father, is met by God with the fulfilment of thy desires?"

There are variations of this text in the Palestinian Talmud, noted by Geiger in his *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishnah* (Breslau, 1845), p. 28. He adds a critical commentary and an excellent glossary which may be consulted with profit by students of rabbinic literature. Cf. also pp. 29-30, 98, 113 (s. v. טעה), 122 (s. v. עגל). A German translation of the above narrative is given by Wuensche in his *Babylonische Talmud*, I (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 439-40; and in English in P. I. Hershon's *Genesis with a Talmudic Commentary* (London, 1883), pp. 333-4. There is another version of the legend in *Taanith*, 23a, somewhat more elaborately told, which runs as follows:

פעם אחת יצא רוב אדר ולא ירדו גשמים שלחו לחוני המעגל התפלל וירדו גשמים התפלל ולא ירדו גשמים עג עיגה ועמד בחוכה כדרך שעשה חבקוק הנביא שנאמר על משמירתי אעמדה ואחיצבה על מצור וגו' אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם בניך שמו פניהם עלי שאני כבן בית לפניך נשבע אני בשמך הגדול שאיני זו מכאן עד שתרחם על בניך התחילו גשמים מנטפין אמרו לו תלמידיו רבי ראינוך ולא נמות כמדומין אנו שאין גשמים יורדין אלא להחיר שבועתך אמר לא כך שאלתי אלא גשמי בורות שיחין ומערות ירדו בזעק עד שכל

¹ Vide *Baba Metsia*, 28b.

טפה וטפה כמלא פי הבית ושיערו חכמים שאין טפה פחותה מלוג אמרו לו תלמידיו רבי ראינוך ולא נמות כמדומין אנו שאין גשמים יורדין אלא לאבד העולם אמר לפניו לא כך שאלתי אלא גשמי רצון ברכה ונדבה ירדו כתיקנן עד שעלו כל העם להר הבית מפני הגשמים אמרו לו רבי כשם שהתפללת שיירדו כך התפלל וילכו להם אמר להם כך מקובלני שאין מתפללין על רוב הטובה אעפ"כ הביאו לי פר הודאה הביאו לו פר הודאה סמך שתי ידיו ואמר לפניו רבש"ע עמך ישראל שהוצאת ממצרים אינך יכולין לא ברוב טובה ולא ברוב פורענות כעסת עליהם אינך יכולין לעמוד השפעת עליהם טובה אינך יכולין לעמוד יהי רצון מלפניך שיפסקו הגשמים ויהא ריוח בעולם מיד נטבה הרוח ונתפזרו העבים וזרחו החמה ויצאו העם לשדה והביאו להם כמדהין ופטריות² שלח לו שמעון בן שטח אלמלא חוני אתה גזרני עליך נידוי שאילו שנים כשני אליהו שמפתחות גשמים בידו של אליהו לא נמצא שם שמים מתחלל על ידך אבל מה אעשה לך שאתה מתחטא לפני המקום ועושה לך רצונך כבן שמתחטא על אביו ועושה לו רצונו ואומר לו אבא הוליכני לרחצני בחמין שטפני בצונן תן לי אגודים³ שקדים⁴ אפרסקים⁵ ורמונים ונותן לו ועליך הכתוב אומר ישמח אביך ואמך ותגל יולדתך⁶.

The above need not be translated *in extenso*. Wuensche, *loc. cit.*, pp. 455-6, gives a German rendition, and A. M. Tendlauer a still more elaborate one in his *Buch der Sagen und Legenden jüdischer Vorzeit* (Stuttgart, 1845), pp. 183-5, No. XXXVI, and notes, p. 327. Dr. M. Sachs' poetic version in *Stimmen vom Jordan*, etc., II, pp. 208 *sqq.*, is the best. There is a Jewish-German account in the *Maase-Buch*, chap. 52, about which Steinschneider and Grünbaum have treated exhaustively. Many other references to Choni Hammaagel and supplications for rain are to be found in tractate *Taanith*, with various extravagant traditions, such as his sleeping seventy years, like Rip Van Winkle. (Cf. *Taanith*, 23b; *Maase-Buch*, chap. 53; Tendlauer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 186-8, 328 [and sources cited]; Sachs, *loc. cit.*, II, pp. 213-15; Wuensche, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-7; Schauer, "Die Sage vom langen Schlaf," in Geiger's *Zeitschrift f. Wiss. und Leben*, V (1867), pp. 39-44; Perles, *Zur rabbinischen Sprach- und Sagenkunde* (1873), p. 84 [with classical and Arabic parallels]; Kohut, "Haggadic Elements in Arabic Legends," No. II, in *Independent* (New York), January 8-29, 1891. Dr. A. S. Isaacs has given an entertaining version of the story in his chapter on "The Rip Van Winkle of the Talmud" in *Stories from the Rabbis* (New York, 1893), pp. 41-50; see

² Vide Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 303.

³ Vide Gesenius, 12th ed., s. v.; Syr. ܡܪܝܬܐ, Pers. گوز, Arab. جوز.

⁴ Vide Löw, *loc. cit.*, pp. 374-5; Gesenius, 12th ed., s. v.

⁵ Cf. Kohut's *Arak*, I, 242, s. v.

⁶ See Prov. 23:25.

also Max Margolis' article on "The Talmud" in *Library of the World's Best Literature*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1446-5.⁷

A similar story is told in the Talmud, tr. *Taanith*, f. 19b-20a,⁸ of Nicodemus ben Gorion, whose prayers for rain were answered.⁹ Strangely enough, the whole incident of Choni Hammagel, as above recorded, is elaborately retold in a late novel by J. M. Barrie, called *The Little Minister*, recently dramatized. There, too, the pastor calls a prayer-meeting for rain, and when rain does come in torrents and floods the country, he is held responsible for the consequences, and some talk is made of *excommunicating him*. Such literary coincidences are not rare. *Grosse Geister treffen sich!*

3. A TURKISH TALE IN THE MIDRASH.

Among the "Pleasing Tales of Khoja Nasr-Il-Deen Effendi," the *Eulenspiegel* of Turkey whom Andersen, the fabulist, has immortalized in one of his ingenious stories, is one which may be found almost *verbatim* in rabbinic records. The collection is called "لطائف خواجه" and has been rendered into English, word for word, by William Burekhardt Barker, M.R.A.S., in his *Reading Book of the Turkish Language, with a Grammar and Vocabulary*, etc. (London, 1854), pp. 17-19. There are other translations of this curious and witty compilation, published at various times, as, for instance, by Bleek, in *Ainsworth's New Monthly Magazine* (London, 1849), and by W. A. Clouston, in his *Book of Noodles* (London, 1888) and in his *Flowers from a Persian Garden and Other Papers* (London, 1890), pp. 65-70. Many of his sayings and anecdotes are traceable to Jewish sources, as I shall attempt to prove another time. For the present it will suffice to

⁷ Josephus in his *Antiquities*, Bk. XIV, chap. II, §1, refers to our hero, whom he calls Onias, in the following account, which attempts to explain his disappearance in another way. He was, no doubt, familiar with Haggadic interpretations, as Bloch, in his *Quellen des Fl. Josephus in seiner Archaeologie* (Leipzig, 1879), has conclusively proven. The passage runs: Ονίας δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ θεοφιλὴς, ὃς ἀνομβρίας ποτὲ οὖσης ἠβῆατο τῷ Θεῷ λύσαι τὸν αὐχμὸν, καὶ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ Θεὸς ὤσεν, ἐκρύνεν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν στάσιν ὁρᾶν ἐπιμένουσιν. ἀναχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἤξιον, ὡς ἔπαυσε τὴν ἀνομβρίαν εὐχάμενος, ἐν' οὕτως ἀρὰς κατὰ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ τῶν συστασιαστῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβῆται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγων καὶ παραιτούμενος ἐβιάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, στὰς μέσος αὐτῶν εἶπεν· "ὦ Θεὸς βασιλεῦ τῶν ὅλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ νῦν ἐστῶτες σοὶ δῆμῳ ἐστί, καὶ πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἱερεῖς σοι, δέομαι μῆτε κατὰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ἐπακούσαι, μῆτε κατ' ἐκείνων, ἀ οἱτοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν, εἰς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν." καὶ τὸν μὲν ταῦτ' εὐχάμενον περιστάντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέλευσαν. There appears to be some connection between the prologue of this narrative in Josephus and the mention of *paschal stoves* in the talmudic passage above quoted. (Cf. also *Sotah*, 49b; *Menachoth*, 64b; *Baba Kamma*, 82b.) The episode concerning Onias [= 7277] is made to occur about Passover, when Aretas and Hyrcanus marched against Aristobulus and besieged Jerusalem. See the text, *loc. cit.*: Τούτων δὲ γινόμενων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς, ἦν Φάσκα [sic] λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμῶτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν, εἰς Ἀγυπτον ἐφύγον. (Cf. also Tendler's *Sagen und Legenden*, *loc. cit.*, p. 327, No. 36, where Josephus' account is adjusted.) This is not the only instance where Josephus serves to explain rabbinic records. Is Sachs' poetic interpretation of Josephus, *loc. cit.*, II, pp. 216-18, based on rabbinic sources?

⁸ Vide Wuensche, *loc. cit.*, pp. 441-2; told in verso by Sachs in *Stimmen vom Jordan*, I, pp. 111-13.

⁹ Cf. the English version in Herschon's *Genesis according to the Talmud*, p. 38, No. 14.

refer to the story of the man offering figs to the Bey and being pelted with them in return for his courtesy. The text (*vide* Barker, *loc. cit.*, pp. ۷۷-۷۸) runs as follows:

نصر الدين افندي بر کون بو بيوک طابله نگ اوستنه اوچ
ارک قیوب بگه هديه کتروب بگد اوگنه قور خواجه نگ ارک
کتورد یکندن حظ ایدوب وافر اقچه بغشله خواجه اینه کلد
کده بر قاچ گوند نصکده نروافر پاخر آلوب ینه بگه کتوررکن
بر حریفه راست کلوب خواجه یه ایدر بونلری کیمه کتوررسین
بگه کتوریزم [کتوریزورم] دید کده بگه بونی کتوره جگکه انجیر
کتورسک دها مقبوله کچر دیر خواجه واروب برقاچ ارکه [عرق]
انجیر آلوب کتورر بک دخی امرایلیوب بو انجیرک جمله سین
بونک باشنه اوررلر اما بونلری خواجه نگ باشنه اورد قجه
خواجه شکر ایدر دی ای خواجه نیچون سکر ایدرسین دید
کلم نده خواجه ایدر خیلی پاخر کتوره یوردم یولده بونی بر
حریف تعریف ایلدی اکر پاخر کتوره ایدم باشیم یاریلورایدی*

Nasr-il-deen Effendi once placed three plums on a large tray and took them to the Bey as a present. The Bey being much gratified gives him some money. Some time afterward the Khoja was about to take beetroot to the Bey, when he met a man. "To whom do you take these things?" asked he. "To the Bey," answered he. "Why not take figs, which will be more acceptable than this?" said the other. The Khoja, heeding the advice, takes some sprigs of figs. The Bey, however, commands that all his figs be thrown at his head. This being done, and some having struck the Khoja's head, he offered up thanks. "O Khoja! why do you express gratitude?" they asked. "I was bringing many beetroots hither, when a man advised me to bring figs instead. Had I indeed brought beetroots my head would have been split!" was the rejoinder.

This comical story is somewhat more elaborately told in the rabbinic Haggada. In *Midrash Rabba* to Leviticus, § 25, we read the following:

אדרינוס שהיוק שמיא הוה עבר באלין שבילין דטברין וחמא חד
גבר סב קאים וחציב הצובן למנצב נציבין אל סבא סבא אי קרצת
לא השכת אל קריצת וחשיכת ומה דהני למרי שמיא עבר אל בחיך
סבא בר כמה שנין את יומא דין אל בר מאה שנין אל ואת בר

מאה שנין וקאים וחצב חצובין למנצב נציבין סבר דאת אכיל מנהון
 א'ל אין זכית אכלית ואם לאו כשם שיגעו לי אבהתי כך אני יגע
 לבני א'ל בחייך אם זכית אכול מנהון תהוה מודע לי לסוף יומיך
 עבדיך תאניא אמר הא ענתה נודע למלכא מה עבד מלא קרטלא¹⁰
 תאניך וסלק וקם ליה על תרע¹¹ פלטיך¹² אמרין ליה מה עסקך אמר לון
 עלון קדם מלכא כיון דעל אמר ליה מה עסקך א'ל אנא סבא דעברת
 עלי ואנא חצב חצובין למנצב נציבין ואמרת לי אין זכית תיכול
 מנהון תהא מודע לי הא זכיתי ואכלית מנהון והילין תאניא מן
 פיריהון אמר אדרינוס בההיא שעתא קלווניך אנא¹³ תיתנון סילון¹⁴
 דדהבא ויתיב ליה אמר קלווניא אנא דתפנון הדין קרטל ידיה
 ותמלון יתיה דינריך¹⁵ אמרין ליה עבדוהי כל הדין מוקרא תיקריניה
 להדין סבא דיהודאי אמר להון בריה אוקריא ואנא לא אנא מוקר
 ליה אנתתיה דמגירא הות ברת פחין¹⁶ אמרה לבעלה בר קבלוי¹⁷ חמי
 דהוא מלכא רחמא תינין ומפרגא בדינריך מה עבד מלא מדעליה¹⁸
 תינין ואזל וקם קדם פלטיך א'ל מה עסקך אמר לון שמעית דמלכא
 רחמא תינין ומפרגא בדינריך אמר עלון ואמרין למלכא חד סבא קאים
 על תרע פלטיך טעין מלא מרעלי¹⁹ תינין ואמרנא ליה מה עסקך א'ל
 שמעית דמלכא רחמא תינין ומפרגא בדינריך אמר קלווניך אנא
 דתקימין יתיה קדם תרע פלטיך וכל מאן דעייל ונפק יהי טרו על
 אפיו. באפתי רמשא פנון יתיה ואזל לביתיה אמר לאנתתי ככל
 הדין יקרא אנא שלים לך אמרה אזיל גלוג לאמך תהוון אינך תינין
 ולא הוון אחרגון דהוון בשילך ולא פגינך.

Another version, somewhat different from the above, is to be found in *Midrash Koheleth* to chap. II, vs. 20 (German transl. in Wuensche's "Bibliotheca Rabbinica," *Der Midrasch Koheleth*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 35-6). Both of these recensions are written in Aramaic. A German translation of the above text is given by Wuensche in his *Der Midrasch Wajikra Rabba*, etc. (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 168-9.

¹⁰ Arab. قرتالة, قرتالة; Gr. κάραλας, κάραλλος (vide Kohut's *Arakh*, s. v.).

¹¹ Syr. ܬܪܥ; Arab. ترع; Gr. θέρα; cf. Kohut's *Arakh*, Vol. VIII, p. 283, where, however, our midrashic passage is not referred to.

¹² Gr. παλατιον, παλάτιν (vide Fürst's *Glossar. Gr. Heb.*, p. 171).

¹³ = קלוואן; Gr. κελούων ἐγώ (vide Kohut, s. v.).

¹⁴ Gr. σέλλιον (vide Fürst, *Glossar.*, p. 153).

¹⁵ Gr. δηνάριον (vide Fürst, p. 102).

¹⁶ Gr. πάρχυρος (Fürst, p. 167).

¹⁷ Vide Kohut, VII, 58.

¹⁸ Probably the Arab. ارعل; in later Latin: *margulus*; see Kohut, s. v.

The same story is told in Hebrew in *Midrash Tanchuma* to Lev. 19:23:

מעשה באדרינוס המלך שהיה עובר למלחמה והולך עם הגייסות¹⁹ שלו להלחם על מדינה אחת שמרד' עליו מצא זקן אחד בדרך שהיה נוטע נטיעות תאנים א"ל אדרינוס אתה זקן ועימד וטורה מתיגע לאחרים א"ל אדני המלך הריני נוטע אם אזכה אוכל מפירות נטיעותי ואם לאו [לא] יאכלו בני. עשה שלש שנים במלחמה וחז' לאחר שלש שנים מצא לאותו זקן באותו מקום מה עשה אותו זקן נטל סלסלה²⁰ ומלא אותה בכורי תאנים יפות וקרב לפני אדרינוס אמר לפניו אדני המלך קבל מן עבדך אני הוא אותו הזקן שמצאת אותי בהליכתך ואמרת לי אתה זקן מה אתה מצטער עימד ומתיגע לאחרים הרי כבר זכני המקום לאכול מפירות נטיעותי ואלה שבחוך הסלסלה מהן מנתך מיד אמר אדרינוס לעבדיו טלו אותה ממנו ומלאו אותה זהובים עשו כך. נטל הזקן הסלסלה מלאה זהובים והתחיל הולך ומשתבח בביתו לאשתו ולבניו שח להם את המעשה. היתה שכנתו עומדת שם שמעה מה אמר הזקן אמרה לבעלה כל בני אדם הולכין והבי' נותן להם ומזמן להם טובה ואתה יושב בבית חשוך באופל הרי שכן שלנו כבד את המלך בסלסלה של תאנים ומלא אותה לו זהובים ואתה עימד ושול כל גדול ומלא אותו כל מיני מגדים מן תפוחים ותאנים ושאר פירות יפות שהוא אוהב אותן הרבה ולך וכבדו בהן שמא ימלא לך זהובים כמו שעשה לשכננו הזקן הלך ושמע לאשתו ונטל כל גדול ומלא אותו כל מיני מגדים תאנים ותפוחים וטען על כתפו וקרב לפני המלך בקופנדר [צ'ל בקפונדר או קופנדריא]²¹ ועמד ואמר אדוני המלך שמעתי שאתה אוהב את הפירות ובאתי לכבדך בתאנים ותפוחים אמר המלך לסרדיוטין [צ'ל לברדיוטין = βαρδαιώτης]²² טלו אותו ממנו ושפחו אותו על פניו עמדו והפשיטוהו ערום והתחילו טופחין אותו על פניו עד שנפחו פניו ושברו את עינו [נ'א סימו א' ע'] ועשאוהו דוגמא והלך לביתו בפחי נפש כשהוא עשוי דוגמה בוכה [נ'א בונה] והיתה אשתו סבורה שהוא בא בסל מלא זהובים וראתה אותו עשוי דוגמא ועינו נפוחות וגופו משובר ומוכה אמר לו מה לך אמר לה ששמעתי לך והלכתי לכבד את המלך באותו הסל ושפחו אותו על פני אלולי²³ שמעתי לך

¹⁹ Vide Kohut, s. v. גִּיָּסִים.

²⁰ סֶלְסֻלָּה Jer. 6:9. Kohut, in *Arākh Compl.*, VI, 57, thinks it the Arab. سَلِيلَة; vide Gesenius, 12th ed. (1895), p. 537.

²¹ According to Kohut, *Arākh*, VII, 165, it is (via) *compend(i)aria*; Fürst cites a Greek equivalent: *κομπεδιάρια* (Ducange). His emendation (*Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum*, 1890), p. 195, s. v. קופנדר is somewhat ambiguous.

²² Cf. M. Sachs' *Beiträge z. jüd. Alterthumskunde*, I, p. 93; apud Fürst, *Glossarium*, p. 160.

²³ See Kohut's *Arākh*, I, 96b = אל.

והתלתי אותו הסל אחרוניך" כבר היו מרגימין אותי ואת כל גופי
בהן כל כך למה ללמוד שהנשים הרעות מפילות את בעליהן ברעה.

Not having Buber's critical edition at hand, I cannot give the variants of the story. Strangely enough, the lexicographers do not refer to the foreign words in our text, and do not mention this *Midrash* at all. A Jewish-German (jargon) account from the book "מראה השורפת" (Frankfurt a. M., 5466 = 1706), f. 7b, is to be found in Max Grünbaum's *Jüdisch-deutsche Chrestomathie* (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 233-5, and a neo-Hebraic translation in Isaac Margolis' ספורי ישורון—*Erzählungen Jeschuruns Charakterbilder und Sagen . . . in's Hebräische übertragen* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 278-9, No. 278. There are several English renderings. We shall only refer to Hyman Hurwitz's *Hebrew Tales*, etc., etc. (Am. ed., New York, 1847), pp. 105-8; H. Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, etc. (Am. ed., Philadelphia, 1876), pp. 323-5; L. Weiss, *Talmudic and Other Legends* (New York, 1888²), pp. 94-5. Hurwitz's paraphrase being the best, we will quote it in full:

"The emperor Hadrian, passing near Tiberias in Galilee, observed an old man digging a large trench in order to plant some fig trees. 'Hadst thou properly employed the morning of thy life,' said Hadrian, 'thou needest not have worked so hard in the evening of thy days.' 'I have well employed my early days, nor will I neglect the evening of my life; and let God do what he thinks best,' replied the man. 'How old mayest thou be, good man?' asked the emperor. 'A hundred years,' was the reply. 'What,' exclaimed Hadrian, 'a hundred years old art thou, and still plantest trees! Canst thou, then, hope ever to enjoy the fruits of thy labor?' 'Great king,' rejoined the hoary-headed man, 'yes, I do hope; if God permit, I may even eat of the fruit of these very trees; if not, my children will. Have not my forefathers planted trees for me, and shall I not do the same for my children?' Hadrian, pleased with the honest man's reply, said, 'Well, old man, if ever thou livest to see the fruit of these trees, let me know it. Dost thou hear, good old man?' and with these words he left him. The old man did live long enough to see the fruits of his industry. The trees flourished, and bore excellent fruit. As soon as they were sufficiently ripe, he gathered the most choice figs, put them in a basket, and marched off towards the emperor's residence. Hadrian happened to look out of one of the windows of his palace; seeing a man, bent with age, with a basket on his shoulders, standing near the gate, he ordered him to be admitted to his presence. 'What is thy pleasure, old man?' demanded Hadrian. 'May it please your majesty,' replied the man, 'to recollect seeing once a very old man planting some trees, when you desired him, if he ever should gather the fruit, to let you know. I am that old man, and this is the fruit of those very trees. May it please you to graciously accept them,

²⁴ Vide the talmudic lexica on this word; cf. also Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* p. 46; *Ben Chananya*, IV, 344.

as an humble tribute of gratitude for your majesty's great condescension.' Hadrian, gratified to see so extraordinary an instance of longevity, accompanied by the full use of manly faculties and honest exertion, desired the old man to be seated, and ordering the basket to be emptied of the fruit and to be filled with gold, gave it him as a present. Some courtiers who witnessed this uncommon scene, exclaimed, 'Is it possible that our great emperor should show so much honor to a miserable Jew!' 'Why should I not honor him whom God has honored?' replied Hadrian. 'Look at his age, and imitate his example.' The emperor then very graciously dismissed the old man, who went home highly pleased and delighted.

"When the old man came home and exhibited the present he had received, the people were all astonished. Amongst the neighbors whom curiosity had brought to his home, there was a silly, covetous woman, who, seeing so much treasure obtained for a few figs, imagined that the emperor must be very fond of that fruit; she therefore hastily ran home, and addressing her husband, said to him: 'Thou son of a wretch (*lit.* son of darkness = imbecile), why tarriest thou here? Hearest thou not that Cæsar is very fond of figs? Go take some to him, and thou mayest be as rich as thy neighbor.' The foolish husband, unable to bear the reproaches of his wife, took a large sack, filled with figs, on his shoulders, and after much fatigue arrived at the palace gate and demanded admittance to the emperor. Being asked what he wanted, he answered that, understanding his majesty was very fond of figs, he had brought a whole sack full, for which he expected a great reward. The officer on duty reported it to the emperor. Hadrian could not help smiling at the man's folly and impertinence: 'Yes,' said he to the officer, 'the fool shall have his reward. Let him remain where he is, and let everyone who enters the gate take one of the figs and throw it at his face, till they are all gone; then let him depart.' The order was punctually executed. The wretched man, abused, pelted, and derided, instead of wishing for gold, wished only to see the bottom of his bag. After much patience, and still more pain, he had his wish. The bag being empty, the poor fellow was dismissed. Dejected and sorrowful, he hastened towards his home. His wife, who was all the while considering how to dispose of the expected treasure most impatiently waited for her husband's return. He came at last and she hastily asked him what good luck he had. 'Have patience, base and wretched woman,' replied the enraged husband, 'have patience, and I will tell thee. I have had both great and good luck. My great luck was, that I took to the emperor figs, and not peaches, else I should have been stoned to death; and my good luck was, that the figs were ripe. Had they been unripe, I must have left my brains behind me.'"

The last part of Hurwitz' paraphrase is somewhat elaborate and not quite in keeping with the original text. The *Midrash* puts the last words in the wife's mouth and adds the moral: to beware of a wicked woman. In the Turkish tale there is neither woman nor moral, and the

luckless advice came from a man. If we mistake not, there is something similar in Grimm's *Fairy Tales*. In the Italian stories of Franco Sacchetti (novella CLII),²⁵ who lived ca. 1335-1400, there is a curious parallel to our narrative of one Messer Gilieto di Spagnà presenting a performing ass to a nobleman of rank. Another, believing that lord to be fond of asses, sends him two in scarlet housings, and is suitably ridiculed for his attention. Are there no other *oriental* analogues?

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ISAIAH, CHAP. 10:36.

Literally translated, the verse reads: "Upon whom will ye flee for help, and whither will ye leave your glory?" Our English version reads: "To whom will ye flee for help, and *where* will ye leave your glory?" But this is not a correct translation of *על מי*, much less of *אנה*. The Hebrew always uses this latter word to ask the direction of movement: *whither*? There is one exception to this rule, in Ruth 2:19, besides the seeming one here. For "where," "in what place," the Hebrew has *איפה* and *איך*. The termination *־ה* of *אנה* is a sure sign indicating direction. Several modern commentators, putting it down as a *constructio prægna*, give the verse an interpretation more or less like that of H. G. Mitchell, which reads: "On whom fleeing will ye *rely* for help, whither will ye *betake* and bestow yourselves?" (See Mitchell, *Isaiah, a Study of Chapters I-XII*.)

Now, while "upon whom will ye flee" is a real *constructio prægna*, not unlike many other such constructions in the Old Testament, the "whither will ye leave your glory" can in no way be taken as such. For, what is a *constructio prægna*? It is the combination of a verb with a preposition not governed by it, but dependent upon another idea implied by, or contained in, this verb. Two ideas are crowded into the verb, and the construction thus becomes a means of brevity. So, for instance: *ענה מן* = to hear and to *save* from; *חרש מן* = in silence to *depart* from; *מלא אחר* = to *follow* fully; *חיד אל* = to *turn* tremblingly to; *נוס על* = to fly *relying* upon. But what other idea could Isaiah imply in *תעזבו* upon which *אנה* may be dependent? The adverb evidently suggests "fleeing" or "going." But the prophet has already mentioned fleeing. Moreover, the next thought in the prophet's mind, after speaking of the people's flight, must be: "When you have fled, what will become of your glory (or your treasures, and whatever else *כבוד* may mean); where will you leave it, and who will take care of it?" But how does *אנה* express or imply this?

I therefore venture to suggest that the unusual construction of this verse may be due altogether to a transposition of the two modifiers *על מי* and *אנה*. Suppose we place these words where, I think, they originally stood. The part of the verse would then read: *אנה תנוסו לעזרה*

²⁵ See *The Italian Novelists*, transl. by Thomas Roscoe (New York, 1888), pp. 101-4.

וְעַל מִי תִּצְוּרָם כְּבוֹדָם, and would be perfectly smooth and clear. "Whither will ye flee for help?" אֲנִה, as in every other instance, so here, asking the direction of the movement. "And upon whom (= in whose care) will ye leave your honor and glory?" In other words, what will become of it if they do flee to some place? עַל יְצוּב is one of the usual expressions for "leaving in care of." So Ps. 10:14: עַל־יְצוּב חָלָה. And so in 1 Sam. 17:20, 22, 28, where the verb נָטַשׁ, in the same sense as יְצוּב, is used with עַל.

All we have to assume, then, is that in some way, or through somebody's fault, the phrase עַל בִּי was made to interchange places with the word אֲנִה. Nor is this an isolated instance of the transposition of words and the transference of particles to places in the sentence where they could not have originally belonged. Having looked over a few chapters of the Hagiographa, I can point out the following cases: There is that peculiarly constructed verse in Job 4:6: הֲלֹא יִרְאֶתְךָ כְּסֻלְתְּךָ תִּקְוֶתְךָ וְתָם דְּרִכְךָ. If we assume that the ו originally belonged to תִּקְוֶתְךָ, the verse has then a regular construction. In vs. 16 of the same chapter we have דְּמִמָּה וְקוֹל אֲשַׁמֵּעַ "a whispering and a voice I hear." It becomes much clearer when we read וְקוֹל דְּמִמָּה "and a whispering voice," "a still voice," the same expression occurring in 1 Kgs. 19:12. Vs. 9 of chap. 5 reads: עָשָׂה גְדוּלוֹת וְאֵין חֶקֶר נִפְלְאוֹת עַד אֵין מִסְפֵּר. The ו of וְאֵין is evidently a discordant element in its present place, while we miss it at the beginning of the second half of this verse, as in almost every one of the preceding and the following verses the second half is introduced by ו. And when Job repeats this verse in chap. 9, we find the ו in its right place. The last verse of the same chapter closes with דַּע לֶךְ שְׂמִיעָה וְאַתָּה דַּע לֶךְ. But it reads much better, and is even more rhythmical, when the first two words are transposed, thus: וְאַתָּה שְׂמִיעָה דַּע לֶךְ. The second half of the verse of Prov. 31:13 reads: וְחָצָה בְּחֶפֶץ כִּפְיָה, and is commonly translated "and worketh willingly with her hands." But, in the first place, חֶפֶץ, primarily meaning "pleasure derived from, or delight taken in, something," could only be spoken of in connection with לֵב or נֶפֶשׁ, which, according to biblical psychology, are the seats of such feelings and emotions, and not with כִּפְיָה. Then, we miss the object of וְחָצָה, a verb that always requires an object. All these difficulties, however, are cleared up when we assume the preposition ב to be misplaced, and originally meant to belong to כִּפְיָה. We must then read: וְחָצָה חֶפֶץ בְּכִפְיָה "And she makes a costly thing, or garment, with her hands" (cf. Prov. 3:15; 8:11).

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Book Notices.

DALMAN'S ARAMAIC GRAMMAR AND READER.¹

The western branches of the Aramaic family have received less attention than any other Semitic languages of comparable importance. For the biblical Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel we have the grammars of Kautzsch, Marti, and Strack—each with excellences of its own—while the Old Testament lexicons register its vocabulary. But the grammar of the Jewish and Samaritan Targums is a field of lamentable confusion, due in part to the failure of writers on the subject to discriminate between works of different age, origin, and dialect; in part to the state in which the texts have been transmitted to us, especially in the matter of vowel-pointing. Most of the grammars of Targum Aramaic, indeed, are based upon the fictitious vocalization which Buxtorf introduced into his Rabbinical Bible. Only in the last years has the acquisition of manuscripts from southern Arabia with supra-linear vowels disclosed a consistent and relatively ancient tradition of pronunciation. The Aramaic of the Palestinian Christians has found few students among those whom it most concerns, though we have for it Nöldeke's grammatical sketch and Schwally's glossary. The inscriptions of western Syria are still scattered and hard to get at; indexes, glossaries, and comprehensive grammatical investigation remain for the future to bring forth.² The northern dialect, brought to light by the excavations at Sinjirli, which, from its age and position, may be expected to prove of great importance, is still imperfectly known. For the grammar of the Galilean Aramaic in the Palestinian Talmud and Midrash, with the exception of the fragmentary observations of Frankel and Schlesinger's monograph on the verb, nothing has hitherto been done. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that we hail Dalman's grammar as the beginning of a new era in these studies. He has wisely chosen a limited portion of this wide field, the Jewish Aramaic dialects of Palestine, with the exclusion of biblical Aramaic; but these he has treated with a thoroughness which merits the highest commendation.

¹ GRAMMATIK DES JÜDISCH-PALÄSTINISCHEN ARAMÄISCH. Nach den Idiomen des Palästinischen Talmud und Midrasch, des Onkelostargum (cod. Socini 84) und der Jerusalemischen Targume zum Pentateuch. Von Gustaf Dalman. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1894. xii + 348 pp.; 8vo.

ARAMÄISCHE DIALEKTPROBEN. Lesestücke zur Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch, zumeist nach Handschriften des Britischen Museums. Mit Wörterverzeichnis. Von Gustaf Dalman. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896. xii + 56 pp.; 8vo.

Price for both, M. 13; for "Dialektproben" alone, M. 1.80.

² Since this was written, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, by Stanley A. Cook, B.A., has been published by the Cambridge University Press. New York: The Macmillan Co. viii + 127 pp.; 8vo. 7s. 6d.

In the introduction, after a couple of paragraphs on the various ancient names of these dialects, the author gives a conspectus of the extant remains of the different branches of Jewish Aramaic—Judean, Galilean, Babylonian, and the later artificial, mixed type—together with the modern literature on each. In the literature Gaster's edition of the Aramaic "Scroll of the Hasmonæans" (*Trans. London Oriental Congress*, 1892, II, pp. 3-32) has been overlooked; P. Cassel's edition of the Second Targum of Esther (1885) might also have been mentioned. In passing it may be noted that *σφαρ* (p. 6, n. 1) for Hebr. שָׁפָר is found in Euseb., *HE.*, VI, 25, 2, *σφαρθελλειμ*. Particular attention should be called to Dalman's views on the difficult question of the relation of the so-called Jerusalem Targums (Pseudo-Jonathan and the Fragmentary Targums) to Onkelos (pp. 24 *sqq.*). The latter he believes to be of Palestinian, specifically Judean, origin. It first gained an official character in Babylonia, but contamination from the Babylonian idiom is not to be recognized in its grammatical features, and in the vocabulary, though intrinsically probable enough, cannot be certainly demonstrated (p. 9; *cf.* p. 33).

In the following sections the specific differences between the Judean and Galilean dialects are exhibited in parallel columns, with constant comparison of the Samaritan and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic. The latter is more nearly akin to the Galilean than to the Judean, while the Samaritan stands between the two.

Passing over to the grammar, the sections on "Schrift- und Lautlehre" put together clearly and succinctly what can be made out in regard to the pronunciation of Palestinian Aramaic. Numerous special investigations, including Kampfmeier's thorough work on names of places in Palestine, have been utilized here; and the results are of importance also for the contemporary pronunciation of Hebrew. It appears, for instance, that during the period covered by our evidence, say from the time of the Greek translation of the Old Testament to that of Jerome and later, there is no trace of the twofold pronunciation of the stopped consonants (בגדכפ'ת) demanded by the Tiberian punctuation; that at least כ פ ת were in all situations *tenues aspiratae*, never either pure unaspirated *tenues* (Greek κ π τ, English *k p t*, nearly) or spirant (German palatal *ch*, English *f*, surd *th*). In the case of ב ג ד the evidence is not so clear nor so consistent; the two former, at least, show a tendency to pass over into spirants; but here again there is no trace of a twofold pronunciation.³ The investigation of the sounds forms the basis of the following paragraphs on vowel and consonant changes (§§ 14, 15), in which every precaution is taken not to mistake transcriptional or typographical errors for phenomena of speech.

The morphology fills the rest of the volume (pp. 75-328): the forms and inflections of pronouns, numerals, nouns, particles, and verbs being successively exhibited. The disposition of the matter is orderly and

³ With this part of the work may be compared (with caution! see Fraenkel, *ZDMG.*, LII, pp. 290 *sqq.*) Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud*, u. s. w., 1898, pp. 29 *sqq.*

clear; the examples from the different dialects are put in proximity, but kept distinct. The Galilean is, of course, without vowel-points, but the free use of vowel-letters in these texts greatly lessens, even for the beginner, the difficulty of reading them; for the Onkelos Targum a manuscript with supra-linear vowels, belonging to Professor Socin, has been used.⁴ Every form is attested by abundant examples, the sources of which are exactly given; in the case of anomalous forms the author enumerates all the instances which he has observed; *e. g.*, 211 sq. (impf. 3d sg. m. in ב). Thus the statements of the grammar rest on a broad basis of verifiable fact.

The particles are very fully treated, and these sections of the grammar well illustrate the variety and flexibility of the language in this particular. Appended is a select list of idiomatic and common phrases, and one of designations of days of the week and festival days (§§ 57, 58). The Greek loan-words in Palestinian Aramaic are discussed in § 37, with especial attention to the treatment of the Greek flexional endings. On the gender of these words Dalman does not touch; here Krauss' investigation (*op. cit.*, pp. 157 sqq.) may be used to supplement the work.

The paradigms in the Appendix (pp. 330 sqq.) are carefully constructed on the basis of the material presented in the grammar, the Galilean forms being exhibited in parallel columns with those of the Onkelos Targum. For typographical reasons the supra-linear punctuation is here translated into the common system. It is to be regretted that this change was thought necessary, for the resulting forms must be translated back by the student before they can be correctly read.

I will not close this notice without emphasizing the importance of Dalman's work, not only for Semitists, but for New Testament scholars. The dialect with which it chiefly deals is the mother-tongue of Jesus and his Galilean disciples, and though its literary monuments date from subsequent centuries, there is no reason to think that their language differs materially from that spoken in New Testament times. The more clearly it is recognized that back of the Greek gospels lies a vernacular gospel—written or oral; that the teachings of Jesus were conceived, uttered, and for a considerable time transmitted in his Galilean mother-tongue, the more essential a knowledge of this dialect must appear, not merely for the explanation of particular words and phrases, but for an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of the language of the gospels in its psychological as well as its linguistic peculiarities. Hitherto the lack of helps to the study of Jewish Aramaic has deterred many from undertaking it; but this grammar, with the accompanying chrestomathy, and the lexicon which Dalman has begun to publish have removed this difficulty.⁵

In the volume before us there is incidentally a great deal which is of immediate interest to the student of the New Testament. In the sections

⁴ On this codex see Kautzsch, *Mittheilung über eine alte Handschrift des Targum Onkelos*, 1893 (Halle'sches Osterprogramm).

⁵ *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*. Von Dr. Gustaf H. Dalman. Teil I. Frankfurt a. M.: J. Kauffmann, 1897.

on noun-formation many New Testament proper names are explained, frequently with references to the occurrence of the same or similar names in inscriptions. It is to be hoped that these notes, to which a special index is provided, may receive the attention they deserve. For the etymologies of Aramaic proper names in New Testament commentaries, Bible dictionaries, and the like, have come down in no small part from a pre-scientific period of philology, sometimes with accumulation of fresh errors in their descent. Not all the explanations adopted by Dalman are equally sound; that of *Βεελζεβουλ* (p. 105), *e. g.*, fails to account for the fact that this name belongs precisely to the *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*. The etymology of *Βαρνάβας* (p. 142) is hardly satisfactory, though it is possible—which is more than can be said of the current *בְּרִיאָה*. The remarks on pp. 77 *sq.* on substitutes for the pronouns of the first and second persons in the Galilean colloquial are also of interest to New Testament students, and in connection with this p. 90 may perhaps suggest a new hypothesis on the meaning of the phrase *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, so much discussed of late. The euphemism described on p. 78, ll. 21 *sqq.*, is of course not peculiar to this dialect; it is common in the Babylonian Talmud and in later Jewish writings, and has established itself in the Massoretic text of 1 Sam. 25:22, "God do so unto *the enemies of David*," for "unto David" (LXX).

The printing of the book is excellent. The breaking of the supralinear vowels in the press, which makes the use of them so vexatious, is less frequent than might have been expected. Some misprints of a material kind are corrected in the "Nachträge." A few others have escaped notice: *Israel* for *Ismael* (p. 23, l. 20), *ן* for *ר* (p. 45, l. 4 from below), *נפשי* for *נפשי* (p. 84, l. 3 from below).

To accompany his grammar Dalman has prepared a small reading book, containing specimens of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in a text carefully revised upon manuscript authority and fully voweled, and provided with a glossary. Such a chrestomathy was indispensable, for the printed texts are scattered through the folios of the Jerusalem Talmud and the Midrash, and frequently swarm with scribal and typographical errors. The editor gives first a few ancient documents in this dialect, the Megillath Taanith, three short letters of Rabban Gamaliel, and formulas for a marriage contract and a bill of divorce. Next we have extracts from the Pentateuch Targums, so arranged as to facilitate comparison between the Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targums, and selections from the Targums on the Prophets and Hagiographa. After these come a number of well-chosen extracts from the Midrashim, especially from Echa Rabba, then from Bereshith and Wayyikra Rabba. The learner, especially if self-taught, will do well to begin with these rather than with the documents or the Targum. Finally a couple of passages are given from the Jerusalem Talmud, and, for comparison, one from the Babylonian Talmud.

The glossary is concise, but doubtless sufficient. In the places in which I have tested it I have noted but one omission, the verb *יהב*. The

brevity of the definitions is sometimes a little ambiguous; for example, "hinziehen" in עָנִי דָרִישׁ (p. 27, l. 2), "in seinem Gefolge" for בְּרִגְלֵיהֶם in p. 15, l. 9, etc. In some cases brief explanatory notes might have been added with advantage. Not every reader, for example, will at once divine that עַד דִּאֲנוּן יְהוֹבִין וְנִסְבִּין (p. 14, l. 2 from below) means "while they were talking back and forth." In p. 27, l. 4 (הָדִירָא אֲחֵתָהּ) a reference to the grammar, p. 78, ll. 1 *sqq.*, would have helped the learner over a difficulty. The author has given a somewhat extended critical apparatus beneath the text, and the necessary historical comment on Megilath Taanith, but no other notes.

In conclusion I wish to express my regret that unexpected hindrances have so long delayed the notice of this excellent grammar and chrestomathy.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

ANDOVER, MASS.,
September 22, 1898.

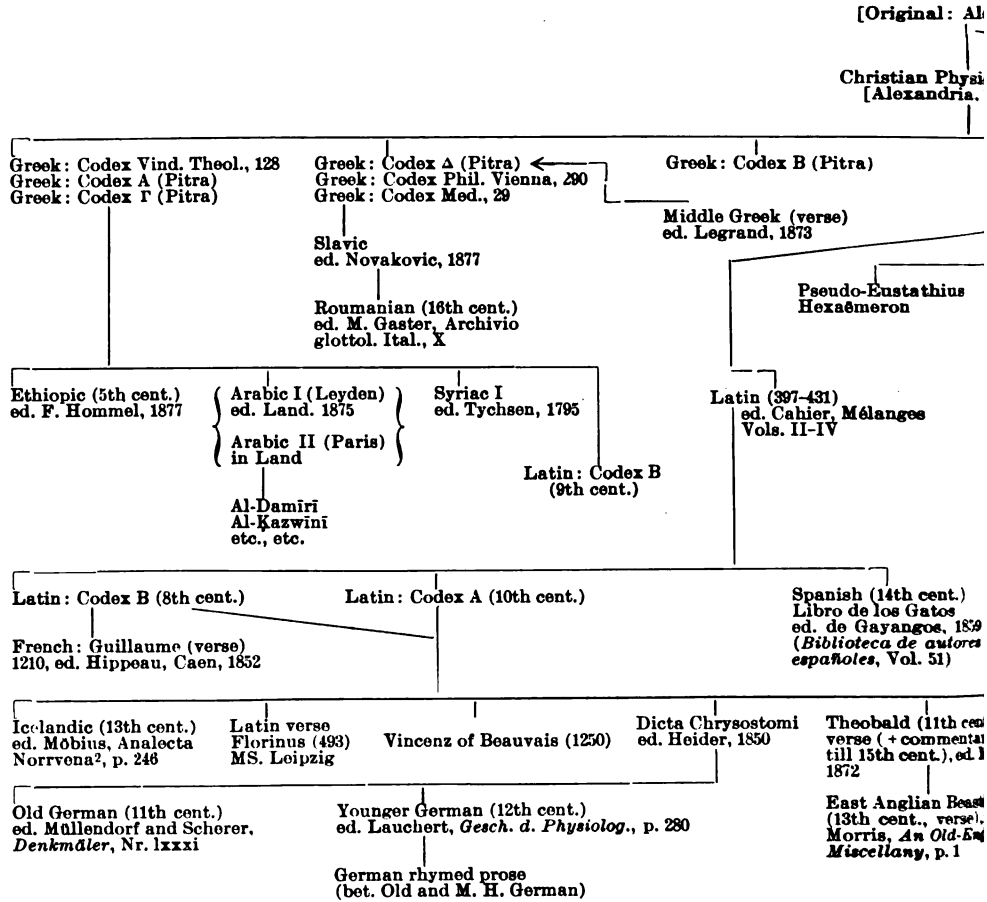
THE GREEK PHYSIOLOGUS AND ITS ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS.¹

The history of certain books is often the history, in a nutshell, of the development of the human mind. Such books are not many in number; but a study of their transmission from people to people and from land to land gives us the general lines upon which the wisdom of the ancients has filtered down and has influenced peoples of later times. *Bidpai's Fables*, *Kalilah* and *Dimnah*, *Barlaam* and *Josaphat*, are, perhaps, among the best-known of such world-books. To these we must add the *Physiologus*. The little that monkish writers and their readers knew of zoology, in Europe as well as in the Coptic and Abyssinian Christian communities of Africa, and the Syriac church of western Asia, hardly went beyond what this book taught. Even Arabic writers—witness al-Damiri and al-Kazwini—accepted in good faith the stories of the habits and peculiarities of certain animals which are to be found in the *Physiologus*.

In the form in which the work has come down to us it is a popular zoology in about fifty sections which has been turned into a set of Christian allegories. As such a set of allegories it very soon became a favorite religious reading book. It was translated by the monks into Ethiopic, Coptic(?), Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic. In Europe it was turned into Latin; and as a *Bestiary* it found its way into old German, middle High German, old French, Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, and Waldensian literature. From the Greek a middle Greek version was made, a Slavonic and a Roumanian. It was turned into poetry, and its influence can be followed in the popular songs of the whole Middle Ages, and in most of the Bible commentaries of that period. Its author has been stated to be Tatian, or Epiphanius, or Basil the Great, or John Chrysostom.

¹ DER GRIECHISCHE PHYSIOLOGUS UND SEINE ORIENTALISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNGEN. Von Prof. Dr. Emil Peters. Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1898. 6+106 pp.; 8vo. [Der Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie in Berlin zum zweiundzwanzigsten Jahre ihres Bestehens. Der Festschriften fünfzehnte.]

PEDIGREE OF THE PHY



IOLOGUS LITERATURE

dria?]

us, Greek
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nmel, p. xliii

Armenian (4th cent.)
tr. French, Cahier, 1874

[Pre-Christian Physiologus]

[Lost juncture]

Syriac II (Leyden)
ed. Land, 1875

Syriac III (East India Office)
[+ additions from Aristotle]
ed. Ahrens, 1892

[Book of Animals]

Basil (d. 379), Homilies,
in Syr. transl.

Ambrosius (d. 397)
Hexaëmeron

Lactantius on
Phœnix (verse)

Anglo-Saxon II
Kynewulf on
Phœnix (verse)
Codex Exoniensis,
ed. Thorpe

s
rris,

Isidore of Seville
d. 636 []

Latin:
Codex C

Latin: Codex Hamilton
77 [additions from
Isidore of Seville] []

Ansileubus,
glossary; ed.
Mai

[]

Old French. Phillipe de
Thoun, 1121, ed. T. Wright,
Popular Treatise on Science,
p. 74

Anglo-Saxon (9th cent.)
verse, Codex Exoniensis
ed. Thorpe

Waldensian
Jaco: MS. Dublin
C. 5, 21 (Lauchert,
p. 149)

French: Pierre
le Picard (prose +
Isidore + X)
13th cent., ed. Cahier,
Paris, 1851, Vols. 2-4

No wonder that it has also been ascribed to Aristotle. With the close of the Middle Ages its authority began to wane. A truer knowledge of nature drove this theological zoology into the background; the old *Physiologus* was threatened with entire oblivion. The publication of a newly found Syriac version by Land in 1875 (*Anecdota Syriaca*, Vol. IV) turned the attention of the learned world to this forgotten page of the world's literary history. In its train have come a number of important publications which have thrown quite a flood of light upon all the questions which are involved in this history.

The career of the *Physiologus* has been a checkered one. The idea of property in literary matters was, of course, not present to the writers and copyists of those days. "Ye shall not add unto the word . . . neither shall ye diminish aught from it," was not even observed in regard to the Bible itself. How much the less in regard to a book which, though religious in its character, was generally conceded to be the work of man! It was lengthened and curtailed, rearranged and turned almost inside out. Hardly two MSS. in any one language agree; and the task of a translator is made harder than it usually is by the difficulty which confronts him of choosing one out of the many texts which he might use as a basis. In fact, it is still quite uncertain what was the original form of the *Physiologus*, notwithstanding the excellent researches made by Land, Hommel, Otto, Ahrens, etc. That its original home was Egypt there seems little doubt; to be more precise, Alexandria. If it be true that Justin Martyr was acquainted with its contents, its composition might, with Lauchert, be placed in the first half of the second century of our era. As a Christian allegorical work its history may commence here. It must have started upon its victorious career in the form of a strictly Christian theological treatise. For, curious to say, no trace of a Hebrew translation or of a Jewish use of the book has come to my sight; it being quite the reverse in all the other world-books (see, e. g., Joseph Jacobs, "Jewish Diffusion of Folk-Tales," in his *Jewish Ideals*, London, 1896, pp. 135 sq.).

But that the *Physiologus* has a history back of all this there seems little doubt. The passages in each section introduced by δ φυσιολόγος $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ give one the impression that they are citations, more or less exact, from an actually existing work. That such a work did at one time exist can be seen from one of the three Syriac recensions, the Kethābhā dhakheyānyāthā, published by Ahrens in 1892, though this recension has additions taken from many different sources. It is not my purpose here to go into a discussion of the history of the *Physiologus*. I have attempted to put into tabular form the various recensions of which we have knowledge; from the genealogical tree the reader will get an idea of the many ramifications through which this old work has passed.

There is yet another side to the influence which the *Physiologus* has had in Europe. Christian art in the Middle Ages stands in close connection with the symbolism as found in the *Physiologus*. Many of the MSS. of the *Physiologus* were illustrated, and these illustrations were

turned into stone in the ornamentation of both the outside and the inside of the churches built by monkish architects. The walls also were painted with the figures of animals which in the *Physiologus* were taken to represent religious truths and moral virtues (Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, pp. 208 sq.). We have here the materials for the history of traditional illustrating similar to that which Mr. Joseph Jacobs has happily pointed out in reference to the Bidpai Fables and the Indian Jātakas (*The Fables of Bidpai*, London, 1888, p. xxiii).

Dr. Peters' translation does not profess to be anything more than an attempt to popularize once more the old popular book. He has rearranged the order of some of the sections, and has—in an eclectic manner—culled from many of the various versions. There are many points in his introduction to which one might take exception; e. g., his supposition that the original is to be sought for in “die von Heliodor erwähnten heiligen Tierbücher der ägyptischen Priesterschaft.” The literature mentioned on p. 14 is singularly meager for a book which bears the year 1898 on its title-page. Karl Ahrens' *Gymnasialprogramm* of the year 1885 is mentioned; but not his complete edition of Syriac iii in 1892, in which he takes back the most important conclusion reached in his previous work. I add a few numbers from the many in my own collection:

8. J. P. N. Land, article “Physiologus,” in *Encyclop. Britannica*, 1885.

9. Krone, “Der altchristliche Physiologus,” *Deutsch. Evangel. Blätter*, Vol. IV, pp. 262–71.

10. Alfons Mayer, “Der waldensische Physiologus,” *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. V, 2, pp. 392–418.

11. W. Motschulsskij, *Der Ursprung des Physiologus und seine ersten Schicksale in den Litteraturen des Ostens und Westens*, Warsaw, 1889. (Russian.)

12. A. Karnejev, “Der Physiologus der Moskauer Synodallbibliothek,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. III, pp. 26–63.

13. M. Fr. Mann, “Physiologus,” in *Kritisches Jahrbuch über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, Vol. III, pp. 108–12.

14. K. Ahrens, *Das “Buch der Naturgegenstände,”* Kiel, 1892.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
October, 1898.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

JUDAEO-PERSICA.¹

From the time that the Jews lost their own home and became a nation without a country, they have been forced to adopt the language of the people among whom they dwelt. But they never entirely gave up the use of their national tongue, the Hebrew. Not only has it remained a literary language, but it has been the means of intercommunication between the scattered communities of Israel. Its use in the synagogue has preserved it alive even for those who did not read its literature. The

¹JUDAEO-PERSICA NACH ST. PETERSBURGER HANDSCHRIFTEN, mitgeteilt von Carl Salemann. I. Chudaïdāt. Ein Jüdisch-Bucharisches Gedicht. Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, VII^e Série. Tome XLII, No. 14. St. Petersburg, 1897 vii + 56 pp.; large 8vo. 1 Rbl. 60 Kop. = M. 4

Jews thus became bilingual; and, as is often the case, both languages were apt to suffer in consequence. "Die Juden haben immer einen Jargon geredet," said Benfey once;² and Wellhausen, speaking of the Jews in northern Arabia, adds:³ "Die Juden redeten unter sich ein Kauderwelsch, welches die Araber nicht ohne Weiteres verstanden." Benfey's dictum may not be true altogether. It certainly is partially so. The Judæo-German (in its various forms) and the Ladino are fairly well known now. But the study of the Jewish dialects of the East is still in its infancy. We know something of the Judæo-Aramæan dialects of Kurdistan and Persia,⁴ and the Judæo-Arabic of northern Africa.⁵ M. J. de Morgan has not, unless it has escaped me, told us anything about "la langue des israélites de Sihné" in Persia, which he had the opportunity of studying in 1891.⁶

During the last few years some attention has been given to the language spoken and written by the Jews in Persia. That they had a literature of their own is seen not only from the Persian translation of the Bible,⁷ and from the Persian apocrypha.⁸ The various Persian-Hebrew dictionaries, commentaries of the Bible,⁹ and, above all, the splendid collection of MSS. which Mr. E. N. Adler has brought back from the East,¹⁰ shed a flood of unexpected light upon a neglected portion of Jewish history. These Persian Jews not only studied and copied into Hebrew characters the great Persian poets' work; they had poets of their own. There must always have been an important colony of Jews in Persia. Benjamin of Tudela found 15,000 in Ispahan.¹¹

This must, also, have been the case at Bochara during the period of its greatness. Even now the colony cannot be small; some of these Jews have even established themselves in Jerusalem. In 1893 they had there 179 houses (two synagogues and two schools); in 1896 they numbered 530 persons.¹² Books have been printed in Jerusalem and in Vienna for the use of these Bocharan Jews.

In the *Chudaidād* we have the first chance of becoming acquainted with some of the poetical literature of the Bochara Jews; what we had

² *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 606.

³ *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Vol. IV, p. 13.

⁴ See the literature in Gottheil, "The Judæo-Aramæan Dialect of Salamas," *JAOS.*, Vol. XV, p. 297.

⁵ Cf., e. g., Hirschfeld's "Assab'niya" in the *Report of the Judith Montefiore College*, Ramsgate, for 1893-4, and Zenner's "Arabische Piūtim," *ZDMG.*, Vol. XLIX, p. 580, and Vol. L, p. 227.

⁶ "Rapport . . . sur sa mission en Perse et dans le Louristan," *JA.*, VIII^e Série, Tome XIX, p. 197.

⁷ *Zunz, Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. III, p. 135, and the literature cited in Nestle's article, "Urtext und Übersetzungen der Bibel" (*Realencyclopaedie für Protestantische Theologie*, 3d edition, 1897, p. 184).

⁸ E. g., Zotenberg's "Geschichte Daniels" in Merx, *Archiv*, Vol. I, p. 385, and Darmesteter in *Mélanges Renier*, 1886.

⁹ *ZDMG.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 200; Vol. LI, pp. 392, 548, 609; *ZATW.*, Vol. XVI, p. 201; Vol. XVII, 199; *Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Vol. XLI, p. 424; *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, Vol. II, p. 141.

¹⁰ *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Vol. X, p. 584. On the fourteen Persian MSS. in the British Museum see *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 119.

¹¹ *Rev. des études juives*, Vol. XIX, p. 52.

¹² A. M. Luncz, *Palästina-Almanach*, Jerusalem, 1896-7.

before this was largely translated from the Hebrew.¹³ The MS. of this poem formerly belonged to Professor D. Chwolson; now it is the property of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg. The MS. is in a poor condition; but Salemann's acumen has solved many of the riddles. Nöldeke has cleared some of the remaining difficulties;¹⁴ and now comes Mr. Adler with two more MSS. of the work,¹⁵ which Bacher has made use of to give us a final revision.¹⁶ The poem is, of course, written in Hebrew characters; it contains 279 lines in Hazaj-meter, and is the work of one Ibrahim ibn Abu-l-liair, writing in the year 1809.

The "Martyrdom of Chudaidād" or "How Chudaidād Died for the Faith that was in Him" would be a fit title. An obscure Bocharan Jew living, it may be, at the end of the last or the beginning of the present century—he deserves this rescue from oblivion. His name seems to be the equivalent of *אלנתן* or *מרחיה*; and the attempt was made in the market-place of his native town to turn him to eternal safety in Islam. He heroically refused to be a traitor to himself; even before the shah, into whose presence he is brought. He even bids the executioner speed the blow, and passes away in all the glory of martyrdom. It is not pleasant to read "Acts of the Martyrs;" but this one *act* is an evident exception. The elevated sentiment, the warm feeling, are far beyond what even the most sanguine would hope to find in a community apparently so oppressed as the Jews have been in Bochara. "No one dare oppose that which the Almighty commands. Us he made Jews from time immemorial: his command is unchangeable. And who are you to do violence to his commands? Why are you without a care and so insolent? One he has created to be a Muslim, striving Allahward; the other an unbeliever and evil-minded. Upon the head of one he has poured the water of his compassion; upon the other he has laid a hundredfold curse. You he has made Muslims; such was the decision of his pen. You it behooves to submit to his decision." Chudaidād's leave-taking from his brothers, Pinchas and Chódsha, and from his children, Mattathia, Isaac, and Simeon, is very touching. The poem, in this way, has a worth of its own, beyond all mere linguistic considerations.

The student will find in Salemann's introduction, and in the articles of Nöldeke and Bacher above cited, a sufficient explanation of the peculiarities of this dialect. We shall all look forward with interest to further publications of this nature; none is more competent than Salemann to work in this special field. Since the publication of this Chudaidād, Salemann has himself been in Bochara. His own finds there and Adler's MSS. ought to give us a further insight into this interesting community of Bocharan Jews.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York, September 28, 1898.

¹³ Ethé in *Litteraturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*, Vol. I, p. 186.

¹⁴ *ZDMG.*, Vol. LI, p. 548.

¹⁵ *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Vol. X, pp. 588, 590; Bacher, *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, Vol. III, p. 19.

¹⁶ *ZDMG.*, Vol. LII, p. 197.

STEINFÜHRER ON יְהוָה.¹

In the first seventeen pages of this little brochure the author gives definitions and explanations of certain words which help, as he supposes, explain the Tetragrammaton יְהוָה. Thus אֱלֹהִים is the plural of אֱלֹהִי, and this in turn is the infinitive of אֱלֹה "wonder at," hence "the Dreadful or Revered One." And not only God, but a whole series of men, whose birth was accompanied with special divine power, bear names derived from infinitive forms; *e. g.*, שֵׁם from שָׁם, נֹחַ, אֲנֹשׁ, אֶחָד, etc. (p. 2). The word אָח "brother" is derived from אַח "with" and אָחִי = אָחִי = אָחִי assimilated to אָחִי "with-liver," *i. e.*, "brother." יוֹם he makes the plural infinitive absolute of הָיָה = הָיָה = הָיָה = יוֹם, but forgets that the infinitive absolute is not inflected (p. 6). Coming to the divine name יְהוָה, he tells us that it owes its origin to Eve when she said: קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת יְהוָה, which Steinführer translates: "Ich habe nistend hervorgebracht einen Spross, den Werde-werdemacher (der zugleich der רִבְיָא ist)"—spoken in a Messianic sense. The word קָנָה is chosen instead of יָלַד in imitation of the divine doing (Gen. 14:22). The word אִישׁ is used with an eye to the future, *ideal* man which אִישׁ would become. And the word יְהוָה is to be read as Piel future. Eve is thus the first to build a proper name with a future form (p. 17). The ך of the future is explained on p. 3 as a mutilated הָיָה (not from רִבְיָא), of which only the fixed consonant has remained. In Gen. 4:26 he would point יְהוָה as Pual (p. 32).

Steinführer's etymology and exegesis are so novel we would recommend that his booklet be read during the leisure hours of vacation.

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GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

CHWOLSON'S NESTORIAN EPITAPHS, II.²

The title indicates the contents of this work, which is published by the commissionaires of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The introduction gives an account of the sketches which first attracted the author's attention to these inscriptions, and of the dates at which the original stones were brought to St. Petersburg. In 1890 he published the first series of inscriptions, with an essay on their interpretation and value. This second part contains 328 inscriptions, or at least what can be deciphered of them.

Semirjatschie is a province of Russian Turkestan. The main interest of the inscriptions here collected consists in this: they establish the fact that Nestorian Christianity had spread among the remote Tartar tribes of central Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of our era.

¹ יְהוָה: Untersuchung über den Namen "Jehovah." Von B. Steinführer, Pastor zu Gaarz. Neustrelitz: *Barnewitz Verlag*, 1898. 66 pp. M. 1.20.

² SYRISCH-NESTORIANISCHE GRABINSCHRIFTEN AUS SEMIRJETSCHIE. Neue Folge, herausgegeben und erklärt von D. Chwolson. St. Petersburg, 1897; Leipzig: *Voss' Sortiment in Kommission*. 62 pp.; large 4to and four phototype plates. M. 6.

The evidence seems entirely conclusive. Each stone is marked with a cross, around which the inscription is cut. This is in rude Syriac characters and gives the date according to the Seleucid era. The year of the Turkish cycle is often added, being designated by an animal name. Then follows the name of the deceased person with his official title or a brief word of eulogy. The word "a believer" is added, and that is all. For example: "Year 1576 (year of the ox), 23d day of the month Adar; this is the grave of Kiz Asha, a believer, daughter of Altun Abba." For a child we often find "a beloved youth" or "a beloved maiden" added. For an old man we read "an honored old man, an excellent teacher." Very rarely is a prayer added like the following: "The Lord be merciful to her in his kingdom," or "Our Lord forgive his sin, Amen."

The proverbial flattery of epitaphs is absent. In one instance a young man is said to have had a fine voice, and another is described as strong in body. Three cases are given where the deceased "did much for the church," and one where he "made many improvements in the prayer-book." Some reservation must be made in regard to the last, as the wording is not altogether certain.

To all appearance the community here represented was not very proficient in Syriac. Inaccuracies are not uncommon, and Turkish words are frequently found. In three or four cases the whole inscription is Turkish in Syriac letters. The proper names are largely of the Tartar type, though a good many are adopted from the Bible. Thus we find *Ishu* (Jesus), Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Peter, Paul, Thomas, Philipp, Andrew, Stephen, and, of course, Mary and Martha. The latter is the most common name for women, as John (*Johanan*) is for men. The Old Testament is represented by Abraham, Isaac, Israel, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zachariah, as well as Sarah. Names of western origin, like Alexander, Julius, Constans, Sergius, Cyriacus, George, and Nestorius, have come through the church traditions, we may suppose.

The offices and dignities mentioned are nearly all ecclesiastical. Aside from "captain" or "chief of the army," which is predicated of two, or possibly three, men, we find only such as belong to the church. There seems to be no bishop, unless the "chief of the church" be such. But we find among about three hundred adults, whose monuments are here copied, no less than nine archdeacons, twenty-three inspectors († s'ura), forty-six scholiasts, three exegetes, two preachers, eight teachers, and several who seem to have been in the minor orders. This is Chwolson's estimate, which does not take account of the term "priest." This is found often joined with the other titles, but not infrequently by itself, and we are probably authorized to add a number of presbyters, therefore, to the above list.

One looks with a certain melancholy upon these fragments of a now lost civilization, for they are all that remain to us from a vanished sect. Not long after the date of these inscriptions, Islam subjugated the region and maintained itself until the present Russian colonization began.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH.

AMHERST, MASS.

THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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[1899]

ABBREVIATIONS.

Place of Publication: B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; Kö. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

Prices: \$ = dollar; M. = Mark; f. = franc; L. = lira; s. = shilling; d. = pence; fl. = florin. Prices quoted are usually for volumes bound in cloth in case of American and English books, in paper in the case of all others. Bd. = bound.

Months: Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jl., Ag., S., O., N., D.

PERIODICALS.

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| <i>A.</i> | = Arena. | <i>Mi.</i> | = Mind. |
| <i>AC.</i> | = L'association catholique. | <i>MIM.</i> | = Monatsschrift für innere Mission. |
| <i>ACQ.</i> | = American Catholic Quarterly Review. | <i>M & N</i> | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des |
| <i>AER.</i> | = American Ecclesiastical Review. | <i>DP-V.</i> | Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| <i>AGPh.</i> | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie. | <i>Mo.</i> | = Monist. |
| <i>AJSL.</i> | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. | <i>NA.</i> | = Nuova Anthologia. |
| <i>AJTh.</i> | = American Journal of Theology. | <i>Nath.</i> | = Nathanael. |
| <i>AKKR.</i> | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht. | <i>NC.</i> | = Nineteenth Century. |
| <i>AMZ.</i> | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift. | <i>NCR.</i> | = New Century Review. |
| <i>ARW.</i> | = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. | <i>NkZ.</i> | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift. |
| <i>BAZ.</i> | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München. | <i>NW.</i> | = New World. |
| <i>BBK.</i> | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch. | <i>OLZ.</i> | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung. |
| <i>BC.</i> | = Beweis des Glaubens. | <i>Ou.</i> | = Outlook. |
| <i>BS.</i> | = Bibliotheca Sacra. | <i>PEFQS.</i> | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement. |
| <i>BU.</i> | = Bibliothèque universelle. | <i>PhM.</i> | = Philosophische Monatshefte. |
| <i>BW.</i> | = Biblical World. | <i>PhR.</i> | = Philosophical Review. |
| <i>BZ.</i> | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift. | <i>PQ.</i> | = Presbyterian Quarterly. |
| <i>CR.</i> | = Contemporary Review. | <i>Pr.</i> | = Protestant. |
| <i>ChOR.</i> | = Charity Organization Review. | <i>PrM.</i> | = Protestantische Monatshefte. |
| <i>ChQR.</i> | = Church Quart. Review. | <i>PRR.</i> | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review. |
| <i>ChR.</i> | = Charities Review. | <i>PSBA.</i> | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology. |
| <i>ChrK.</i> | = Christliches Kunstblatt. | <i>QR.</i> | = Quarterly Review. |
| <i>ChrL.</i> | = Christian Literature. | <i>RAAO.</i> | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale. |
| <i>ChrQ.</i> | = Christian Quarterly. | <i>RB.</i> | = Revue biblique. |
| <i>ChrW.</i> | = Christliche Welt. | <i>RBd.</i> | = Revue bénédictine. |
| <i>D.A.</i> | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche. | <i>RChR.</i> | = Reformed Church Review. |
| <i>ZThK.</i> | = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter. | <i>RChr.</i> | = Revue chrétienne. |
| <i>DEBl.</i> | = Deutsche Revue. | <i>RChrS.</i> | = Revue de christianisme sociale. |
| <i>DR.</i> | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht. | <i>RdM.</i> | = Revue des deux Mondes. |
| <i>DZKR.</i> | = English Historical Review. | <i>REJ.</i> | = Revue des études juives. |
| <i>EHR.</i> | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung. | <i>RHLR.</i> | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses. |
| <i>EKZ.</i> | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin. | <i>RHR.</i> | = Revue de l'histoire des religions. |
| <i>EMM.</i> | = Edinburgh Review. | <i>RQ.</i> | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>ER.</i> | = Etudes. | <i>RS.</i> | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne. |
| <i>ET.</i> | = Expository Times. | <i>RTh.</i> | = Revue théologique. |
| <i>Exp.</i> | = Expositor. | <i>RThPh.</i> | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie. |
| <i>F.</i> | = Forum. | <i>RThQR.</i> | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig. |
| <i>FR.</i> | = Fortnightly Review. | <i>SA.</i> | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. <i>e. g.</i> Berlin, München, etc. |
| <i>GPr.</i> | = Gymnasialprogramm. | <i>StKr.</i> | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken. |
| <i>Hk.</i> | = Halte was du hast. | <i>StWV.</i> | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede. |
| <i>HN.</i> | = L'humanité nouvelle. | <i>ThQ.</i> | = Theologische Quartalschrift. |
| <i>HR.</i> | = Homiletic Review. | <i>ThR.</i> | = Theologische Rundschau. |
| <i>HSR.</i> | = Hartford Sem. Record. | <i>ThSt.</i> | = Theologische Studien. |
| <i>HZ.</i> | = Historische Zeitschrift. | <i>ThT.</i> | = Theologische Tijdschrift. |
| <i>IAQR.</i> | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review. | <i>UC.</i> | = L'Université catholique. |
| <i>ID.</i> | = Inaugural-Dissertation. | <i>Upr.</i> | = Universitätsprogramm. |
| <i>IER.</i> | = Indian Evang. Review. | <i>VwPh.</i> | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie. |
| <i>IJE.</i> | = International Journal of Ethics. | <i>WZKM.</i> | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes. |
| <i>Ind.</i> | = Independent. | <i>ZA.</i> | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. |
| <i>IThR.</i> | = Internat. Theol. Review. | <i>ZAeg.</i> | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde. |
| <i>JA.</i> | = Journal asiatique. | <i>ZATW.</i> | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| <i>JBL.</i> | = Journal of Biblical Literature. | <i>ZDMG.</i> | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch. |
| <i>JM.</i> | = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums. | <i>ZDPV.</i> | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| <i>JQR.</i> | = Jewish Quarterly Review. | <i>ZeRU.</i> | = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht. |
| <i>JRAS.</i> | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. | <i>ZKG.</i> | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>JTVI.</i> | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute. | <i>ZkTh.</i> | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie. |
| <i>Kath.</i> | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben. | <i>ZMR.</i> | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft. |
| <i>KM.</i> | = Kirchl. Monatschrift. | <i>ZPhKr.</i> | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik. |
| <i>KT.</i> | = Kyrklig Tidskrift. | <i>ZprTh.</i> | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie. |
| <i>KZ.</i> | = Katechetische Zeitschrift. | <i>ZSchw.</i> | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz. |
| <i>LChR.</i> | = Lutheran Church Review. | <i>ZThK.</i> | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche. |
| <i>LQ.</i> | = Lutheran Quarterly. | <i>ZwTh.</i> | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie. |
| <i>LQR.</i> | = London Quarterly Review. | | |
| <i>M.</i> | = Muséon. | | |
| <i>MA.</i> | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, <i>e. g.</i> Berlin, München. | | |
| <i>MCG.</i> | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft. | | |
| <i>MgkK.</i> | = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Kunst. | | |

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XV

APRIL, 1899

NUMBER 3

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.¹

V.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

A.

K. 898, K. 8402, K. 924, K. 8375, K. 1012, AND K. 1061.

The Letter texts given in the following pages are published here for the first time. K. 8402 is a Letter from Ṭab-ṣil-Ešara; cf. Johnston, *Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians*, pp. 169-72. It belongs with the other Letters from the same writer, Nos. 87-99 and Nos. 396, 397, and 398 of my Letter Texts. K. 8402 was omitted from Vol. I, because the third volume of Bezold's *Catalogue* had not appeared when Nos. 87-99 were published. K. 1061 was omitted from Vol. I by mistake. K. 8375 was also omitted from Vol. I for the same reason as K. 8402. They are both from Ṭēm-Ašur.

The name of the writer of K. 898 has been broken off. Reference is made to Ašur-mukīn-palū'a in l. 2 of the obverse and l. 3 of the reverse.

The name of the writer of K. 924 has also been broken off. This tablet is, however, better preserved than K. 898, and its contents can quite easily be learned.

K. 1012 is almost complete and is of some interest.

¹ Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 196-201, and *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 209-12; Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 1-16, and No. 3, pp. 171-82.

K. 8402

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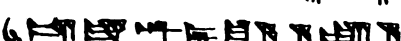

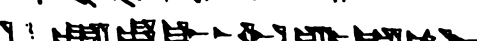




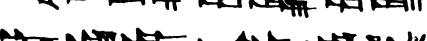

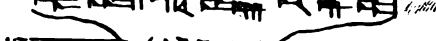
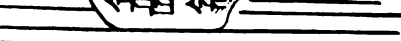
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Left-Hand Edge

K. 8375

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自金天正甲寅歲至辛酉

三才圖會

月十六日 丁巳年五月廿六日

[illegible]

12月25日館開學年會

張國華、金玉華

此圖與古玉同

15. 住 戶 數 目 表

二 圖書館之發展與展望

Edge — 正五道半用

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K.1061, a Letter from 𐎠𐎫𐎧𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎧𐎺𐎠, cf
 Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,
 Volume I., nos. 100-107. Omitted from Volume
 I. by mistake, and given here for the
 sake of completeness.

K.1061.

Obverse.

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Several lines broken away.
No Reverse.

B.

A very interesting Medical Letter from the well-known physician, Arad-Nanā, is 83-1-18, 2 (H. 391). Compare Dr. Johnston's remarks in his dissertation¹ on S. 1064 (H. 392) and K. 519 (H. 108). A provisional transliteration follows. I hope that Dr. Johnston, who is a physician as well as an Assyriologist, will consider this Letter in detail.

83-1-18, 2 [H. 391].

OBVERSE.

A-na šarri be-ili-ia
ardu-ka ^mArad-^{lu}Na-na-a
3 lu-u šul-mu ad-dan-niš ad-dan-niš
a-na šarri bēli-ia ^{lu}Adar u ^{lu}Gu-la
šu-ub lib-bi šu-ub šīre
6 a-na šarri bēli-ia lid-di-nu
ka-a-a-ma-nu šarru be-ili
i-ḫab-bi-ia ma-a a-ta-a
9 ši-ki-in murši-ia an-ni-ia-u
la ta-mar bul-ṭi-e-šu la te-pa-aš
ina pa-ni-ti ina pa-an šarri aḫ-ṭe-bi
12 sa-kik-ki-e-šu la u-ša-aḫ-ki-me
u-ma-a an-nu-šim e-gir-tu
ak-ta-nak us-si-bi-la
15 ina pa-an šarri li-si-ia-u
a-na šarri bēli-ia lu-šaḫ-ki-mu
šum-ma ina pa-an šarri be-ili-ia
18 ma-ḫi-ir ^{amēl}ḫal-ṣu . . .
dul-lu ina muḫ-ḫi li-pu-[šu]
mar-ḫu-ṣu an-ni-[ia(?) - u(?)]

REVERSE.

šarru li-pu-šu i-su-ur-ri
ḫu-un-ṭu an-ni-ia-u ultu pa-an
3 šarri be-ili-ia ip-pa-ṭar
mar-ḫu-ṣu šu-u ša šamnē
II šanitu III šanitu a-na šarri be-ili-ia
6 e-ta-pa-aš šarru u-da-šu
šum-ma šarru i-kab-bi ina pan
li-pu-uš šu-u mur-ṣu-um(?) - ma
9 i-na šar-ki ma ši-il-ba-ni
ina pa-an šarri u-še-rab-u-ni

¹ *Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians.*

- ki-i ša ma-a la II šanġtu e-pu-šu-u-ni
 12 pa-ri-ik-tu lip-ri-ku
 li-ru-ba lu-ša-aġ-ki-im
 i-su-ur-ri zu-u-tu šarru
 15 i-kar-ra-ra ina lib-bi
 me-e-li-šu-nu a-na šarri bēli-ia
 us-si-bi-la šarru ina šīr kišādi-šu
 18 lik-ru-ur nap-šal-tu
 us-si-bi-la
 mu ša e-da-ni
 21 šarru li-pi-ši-iš

For ħunġtu, *fever*, cf. R^M 67 (H. 348), obv. 10–11: ina libbi ša ħu-un-ġtu šu-u, *he has the fever*. I am inclined to think that the name of the writer of this Letter is to be read Marduk-šakin-šum. Cf., however, my copy (H. 348) and Bezold, *Catalogue*. A transliteration follows:

R^M 67 (H. 348).

OBSERVE.

- A-na šarri bēli-ia
 ardu-ka m ilu Marduk-šakin-šum
 3 lu-u šul-mu a-na šarri bēli-ia
 ilu Nabū u ilu Marduk a-na šarri bēli-ia
 lik-ru-bu ša šarru be-ili
 6 iġ-bu-ni ma-a a-ġi-ia
 še-pi-ia la mu-ġa-a-a
 u ma-a ēnā-ia la a-pat-ti
 9 ma-a mar-dak(?) kar-rak
 ina libbi ša ħu-un-ġtu
 šu-u ina libbi is-ma-a-ti
 12 u-kil-lu-u-ni
 ina lib-bi šu-u
 la-aš-šu ġi-ġu

REVERSE.


Ašur ilu Šamaš ilu Bēl ilu Nabū
 šul-mu i-šak-ku-nu

[Lines 3–6 are so badly broken as to be illegible.]

- 6 mu-ru-us-su u-ša
 di-'i-ik a-dan-niš
 kit-tu li-ik-te-ru
 9 me-i-nu ša ġa-bu-u-ni
 li-ku-lu

For bulṭu, H. 391, 10, cf. K. 532 (H. 109). This is also a Letter from Arad-Nanā to the king. The obverse is badly broken. Lines 1-6 of the reverse read as follows:

Ina eli bu-ul-ṭi
 ša sun-ni ša šarru
 3 iš-pur-an-ni ri-e-šu
 a-na-aš-ši ma-'du
 bu-ul-ṭi ša sun-ni
 6 ša šarru be-ili iš-pur-an-ni

Cf. also K. 8509, obv. 4 sqq. (published by Bezold, *Catalogue*): ina eli bu-ul-ṭi ša ^{šir} uznā ša aṣ-bu-tu gabbu liš-ša-ki-in. In K. 532, 2, 5, šin-ni may be read for sun-ni. Sakikku (H. 391, obv. 12) must have some such meaning as *murṣu*, *sickness*, *disease*. Marḥuṣu, obv. 20 and rev. 4, is from  and may be translated *lotion*. I do not at present know of any other passages where these words are found. Cf. Delitzsch, *HWB.*, 498a.

King, in his *First Steps in Assyrian*, pp. 261-2, has given the correct transliteration of 82-5-22, 174, a Letter to the king from Šamaš-mita-uballiṭ "asking for a doctor to see a sick lady." Obverse, ll. 8-10, he transliterates as follows: 'U-ma-a amat ša šarri 'f ilu Ba-u-ga-me-lat 'mar-ša-at a-dan-niṣ la ku-sa-pi ta-kal. He omits the translation of kusāpi. Sayce was the first to interpret this Letter correctly. Compare his review of my *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* in *The Critical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (April, 1897), pp. 216-19, where he translates as follows: "Bau-gamilat, the concubine of the king, has just fallen ill; she cannot eat a morsel of food." For kusāpu = *food*, cf. also Arnolt, *DAL.*, p. 417a, where he quotes Johnston, *AJP.*, Vol. XVII, p. 490. My reading of this line, *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, p. 211, is incorrect.

Perhaps K. 576 (H. 110)—a Letter to the king from Arad-Nanā—rev. 4-10, may be transliterated:

šarru lip-pi-ši-iš
 ultu pa-an zi-i-ḫi
 6 šarru li-kas-sip mē
 za-ku-u-te ša šarri
 idā-šu ka-a-a-ma-nu
 9 ina libbi(?) ma-ak-te
 i-ma-su-u-ni

The text of K. 501 (H. 113), obv. 13—which is badly rubbed on the original—is to be read: *ma-šar šul-mi ba-la-ṭi*. Cf. 83-1-18, 35 (H. 427), obv. 13—a Letter from the same writer, Arad-Nabû. King, *Magic and Sorcery*, XXIV, 3, reads obv. 14 [ina] libbi šarri bēli-ia. I am inclined to think that my reading of this line is correct. The above comparison in regard to *mašar* shows the necessity of collecting all the Letters of any given writer for the study of the text as well as the lexicon. 83-1-18, 35 was catalogued by Bezold in Vol. IV and K. 501 in Vol. I. Hence they were not published side by side.

There is an interesting passage in D. T. 98 (H. 337). Sayce has attempted a translation in the *Critical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 2. I transliterate reverse, ll. 11-15, as follows:

.....atali ilu Sin an-ni-i
 12 ša iš-kun-u-ni mātāti ul-tap-pi-it
 lu-um-an-šu gab-bu ina eli mātAḥarri
 ik-te-mir mātA-mur-ru u
 15 mātḪa-at-tu u ša-ni-iš mātKal-du

The most interesting part is the list of countries. In l. 13 we have māt MAR-TU-KI and in 14 māt A-mur(ḥar)-ru. Of course, Sayce reads both Amurru. I am inclined to think that we have to do with two different countries. One does not expect to find an ideographic writing in l. 13 and a syllabic writing in l. 14—especially in a Letter. It may be translated:

This eclipse of the moon which took place overwhelmed the countries. Its influence was all over the West Country. It darkened Amurru, Ḫattu, and also Kaldu.

C.¹

Part VII of Dr. Arnolt's *Assyrian Dictionary* appeared in June, 1898, and Part VIII has just come from the press. As noted in *AJSL.*, July, 1898, I do not agree with Dr. Arnolt as to the plan of his dictionary on several points. Everyone must admit, however, that he has done a very valuable service to Assyriologists—and especially to the younger students, to whom he gives the history of each word, and the literature, thus making a historical study of the lexicon a comparatively easy task.

¹ *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (Assyrian-English-German). By W. Muss-Arnolt. Parts VII and VIII, pp. 385-512. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; New York: Lemcke & Büchner, 1898-99. Each M. 5 net.

Arnolt has also included many words and forms which do not find a place in Delitzsch's *HWB*.

Part VII includes the forms from Kaldû to kašâdu, and Part VIII those from kašâdu to Madâ. It is my purpose here to present a few forms and words, taken from the Letter Literature, which are not found in these parts.

In addition to the ^{am}kamunu, we have in 83-1-18, 38 (H. 367), a Letter from Nergal-šar-an-ni, obv. 8 *sqq.*, the form 'ka-mu-nu-u šu-u 'ina tar-ba-ši ša bit-a-ni ¹⁰ša bit ^{11u}Nabû (edge-line erased), rev. 'u ka-tar-ru 'ina eli bit libitti 'ša a-bu-sa-a-te 'ka-ba-sa-a-te 'it-ta-mar.

In K. 1461 (H. 120), a badly broken Letter from Arad-aḫ-šu, rev. 13, we find the form ^{is}kal-bu-na-te.

Three interesting forms occur in D. T. 98 (H. 337), a Letter from Arad-Ištar, rev. 11-15: atalī Sin an-ni-i ša iš-kun-u-ni mâtāti ul-tap-pi-it lu-um-an-šu gab-bu ina eli mât MAR.TU.KI ik-te-mir mât A-mur-ru u mât Ḫa-at-tu u ša-ni-iš mât Kal-du. These are ul-tap-pi-it, ik-te-mir, and lu-um-an-šu. Cf. above.

From Johnston's *Assyrian Epistolary Literature* may be added the form kissûtu, *fodder*. Johnston cites for this word K. 515 (H. 89), obv. 15 and rev. 8, tibnu ^{se}ki-su-tu, and K. 622 (H. 306), rev. 12, 13: ^{se}ki-is-su-tu a-na ^{1mer}U-SI-MEŠ lid-di-nu. Cf. also K. 571 (H. 325), obv. 8: ^{se}ki-su-tu.

The roots kasâbu and kasâpu have caused lexicographers much trouble. They seem to be hopelessly mixed up in both Delitzsch and Arnolt. In the light of the Letter Literature, they will require new treatment. Cf. above the remarks on 82-5-22, 174.

The same is true of karâru I and II. Johnston, *AEL.*, has certainly found the correct meaning for K. 629 (H. 65), obv. 8: *to sanctify, consecrate*. A better passage is K. 122 (H. 43), rev. 13: ^{is}paššur ša Ašur ik-ta-ra-ar. Cf. also K. 655 (H. 132), 5. Delitzsch's treatment in *HWB* is very unsatisfactory. He gives only the meaning *einreissen*. Winckler-Meissner give the opposite meaning *aufrichten*. Arnolt gives both.

For ku-riš, ku-u-riš, cf. K. 122 (H. 43), rev. 10, 16, 21.

I am inclined to think that lîdiš is a form with ^l prefixed like lapân. Arnolt has cited the passages noted in *AJSL.*, Vol.

XIV, pp. 12 *sqq.* For the form *lidiš* as over against *lidiš*, cf. K. 5291 (H. 317), obv. 19–rev. 1. The text of l. 19 is broken, but it is to be restored as follows: "ina ekalli li-i'-[diš] "ki-i ši-a-ri (the text has *ḫu*, which is a mistake for *ri*) 'itti šarri a-da-bu-bu-ni.

For *lamati*, cf. K. 924, obv. 9. See p. 132.

For *lu-pu-u-a*, cf. K. 560 (H. 128), rev. 15.

A very interesting form is *mu-u'-un-ti*, K. 644 (H. 336), rev. 9. Additional forms of *karāmu*, *karāru*, *lasāmu*, etc., could be added from the Letter Literature.

In conclusion, I should like again to call attention to the great value of Arnolt's work for the historical study of the lexicon. It is of great convenience to the older students of Assyrian, who have their own catalogued lists. It is absolutely necessary to the younger men who have before them the task of mastering the literature of the last thirty years. All students will hope that the author will be able to complete his task.

RECENT THOUGHT ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CUNEIFORM WRITING.

BY IRA M. PRICE,
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Treasures of history, literature, linguistics, geography, and religion are held in the grasp of the beautiful cuneiform writing of Babylonia-Assyria. This form of script held sway in Babylonia for more than four millenniums—probably longer than that of any other language on the face of the earth. It is also probable that this Babylonian wedge-writing formed the basis of the same method of writing among other and adjacent peoples. In fact, the entire early history of the great basin of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers has no reliable sources except those found in the cuneiform inscriptions. Again, the value of this language for the study of the cognates, and for lexical and ethnographical purposes, drives us to seek diligently the hidden secret. Whence came these mysterious figures? What is the significance of this and of that wedge, as it cuts, at right angles or on a slant, another of its kind? Or what magic power lies in several parallel wedges prefixed, inserted, superimposed, or affixed to a given symbol? The more the secrets of the literature are revealed, the more intense the desire to discover the original form and significance of the signs.

The past two years have seen a new and purposeful zeal to find the solution of this question. This new endeavor has been due to three causes: 1) the paramount importance of the numerous old inscriptions unearthed at Tello by M. E. de Sarzec and edited by M. Léon Heuzey,¹ and at Nippur under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, and edited by Professor H. V. Hilprecht;² 2) the timely appearance of a stirring work by Professor Delitzsch;³ and 3) the general progress of cuneiform

¹ *Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarzec*. Publié par Léon Heuzey. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884.

² *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. Series A: Cuneiform Texts. Vol. I, Part I, plates 1-50, 1893; Part II, plates 51-100, 1896. Philadelphia.

³ *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems; oder, Der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen, Lösung der Frage nach der Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems*. Dargelegt von Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897. M. 8.

learning—demanding the solution of a question that touches every phase of knowledge that centers about early Babylonia. Or, to analyze these causes still further, the first and the third points noted were probably the chief causes that aroused Professor Delitzsch to investigate anew the question, and to give us in book form his important results. The significance of this work cannot be stated in a few words, but suffice it to say that it does for the subject what no other book has ever done. It begins by gathering up into compact form the stable results of the investigations of Oppert,⁴ of the various scattered statements of Ménant and Sayce, of the notable contribution of Houghton,⁵ of Hommel in several works, but chiefly in the results of his comparisons between the ancient cults of Egypt and Babylonia,⁶ and of Hilprecht in his introductions to his palæographically important texts cited above. This summary of early researches in this line very properly forms the introduction to Professor Delitzsch's own attempts to solve the question. With his accustomed critical acumen Delitzsch handles the subject from a straight line to the most complex agglomeration of wedges. His work has been so exhaustively and critically reviewed⁷ that little remains to be said, except to state some of the fixed results of his far-reaching and acute investigations and observations, and to note the impetus which his work has given to researches of this character.

Some of the reviews, particularly those of Jensen and Peiser, have severely criticised and greatly reduced in their estimation what would seem to be some substantial results achieved by Delitzsch's work. Others, such as Zimmern and Lehmann, have freely recognized a distinct contribution of the author to the solution of the complex problem. Halévy's review combats especially the author's reasons for his lapse into Sumerianism, and his estimate of the relation of the Phœnician to the cuneiform characters. But after all that can be said of Professor Delitzsch's *Entstehung*, these facts remain secure: 1) There is known today but a small

⁴ *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*. Tome II. Paris, 1859.

⁵ "Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary," in *TSA.*, Vol. VI (1879), pp. 454-83.

⁶ *Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Cultur*. München, 1892.

⁷ J. Halévy, "L'origine des écritures cunéiforme et phénicienne," *Revue Sémitique*, 1896, pp. 47-65; B. Teloni, *Rivista Bibliografica Italiana*, Anno II, No. 6-7, 1897, pp. 124-7; P. Jensen, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 31. Juli 1897; F. E. Peiser, "Zur Frage nach der Entstehung d. Keilschrift," *Mittheilgen. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellschaft*, 1898, pp. 316-27; C. F. Lehmann, *Lit. Centrbl.*, 1898, cols. 14-20; H. Zimmern, *ZA.*, XII, 1897, pp. 274-7.

number of signs whose origin can be certainly traced to original pictures. 2) There are a few signs whose meaning is intensified, though apparently not in every case, by the addition in various ways of several strokes or lines, usually parallel. These *gunû*-signs, as they are called in the sign-lists, certainly owe their origin to a desire on the part of the original sign inventor to use them for emphasizing the thought of the simple sign which formed the basis of the present complex sign. The entire number of both classes of signs, derived directly from the original pictures, and formed by the *gunû*-lines, will fall under fifty; so that about 400 signs must seek their origin in other lines of descent. 3) It is certain that a very considerable number owes its origin to some species of composition, either of like signs or of unlike signs. This composition is, in many cases, apparent in the neo-Assyrian form of the signs, but in other cases can be discovered only in the line language before the inception of the wedge head.

It is also true that, in some cases, one neo-Assyrian form can be traced back to several original forms, and *vice versa* that some differing neo-Assyrian forms can be traced to one and the same original. These are some of the principles laid down and results reached in the *Entstehung*, but the extent of the application of the principles is not so clear. Professor Delitzsch himself has wisely made some of his statements provisional, as every pioneer should when pushing out into unknown and undiscovered territory.

Since the appearance of the *Entstehung* several treatises on the same or closely allied themes have appeared. Fritz Hommel presented a paper at the Paris (1897) Oriental Congress on *Der hieroglyphische Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*. Hommel, almost without exception, sets up the signs on their right end in order thereby to discover their original forms. The absolute correctness of this method is still in doubt, though it seems to be gaining ground. C. F. Kent has made a small contribution to the subject in a short article on the *gunû*-signs.⁸ C. J. Ball also presents some new observations on several signs.⁹ In Paris also we find two workers busying themselves on this same troublesome, but fascinating, subject. V. Scheil¹⁰ has collected out of early cuneiform and linear literature and has arranged in order,

⁸ "The Origin and Signification of the *Gunû*-Signs," *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 299-308.

⁹ "Babylonian Hieroglyphs," in *PSBA.*, XX (1898), pp. 9-23.

Recueil de signes archaïques de l'écriture cunéiforme. Par V. Scheil, O. P. Paris, 1898.

with as many identifications as he was able to make, 195 archaic signs belonging to the epoch of Šargon I., Gudea, and to the second dynasty of Ur. And now, as if to clinch the whole question, Professor Delitzsch issues a *Nachwort*,¹¹ in which he makes reply to his critics and reaffirms his main theses. These are practically the same as already indicated above under fixed results of Delitzsch's investigations. This *Nachwort* is concluded (p. 40) by a brief discussion of the direction of the original writing, in which the author maintains that the question is comparatively unimportant. He is also quite sure that the character of the writing is a sure-enough guide to the direction in which it should be read. This question, however, must still be regarded as in solution. We are not so certain, for example, that the great clay cylinders of Gudea were not swung on a horizontal axis, and revolved as the small seals of those early days. This undoubtedly would be the easier method of handling these great cylinders, if they were put within reach of the priestly or any other readers. If this is probable, we should have wedge-headed characters inscribed on clay at a comparatively early day, but read in the same direction as the artistic characters on the statues of Gudea. The final determination of this question, however, must await an exhaustive study of the earliest known inscriptions on stone and on clay.

Immediately on the heels of Delitzsch's *Nachwort* we receive a notable work from the hands of that accomplished young French Assyriologist, M. François Thureau-Dangin.¹² In distinction from Delitzsch's method, this work aims, as stated in partial title, to present the oldest known forms of signs and as far as possible their neo-Assyrian equivalents. The *Avant-Propos* is a distinct contribution on the subject. It gives us, in the first place, a list of all the important articles and works containing archaic sign-texts and lists which have been published. These include such works as that of Houghton,¹³ Amiaud and Mechineau,¹⁴ Delitzsch,¹⁵ Hilprecht,¹⁶ and Scheil.¹⁷ The author outranks his predecessors









¹¹ *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems; oder, Der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen: Ein Nachwort.* Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1896. 48 pp. M. 1.

¹² *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme.* Par François Thureau-Dangin. 1^{re} partie: Les formes archaïques et leurs équivalents modernes. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1896. xvi + 116 pp. Fr. 12.

¹³ Cited above.

¹⁴ *Tableau comparé des écritures babylonienne et assyrienne.* Par A. Amiaud et L. Mechineau, S. J. Paris, 1887.

in that he makes use, not only of all published archaic texts, but of some very valuable unpublished texts. He then cites in full the chief collections of archaic texts, such as de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, and single texts whose character palæographically deserves especial attention. It is of great importance that the author's limits, *ad quem*, are set at the texts and forms of Gudea, *i. e.*, he employs in his comparative study of sign-forms no texts later or younger than the period of Gudea, who figures so largely on the statues and cylinders discovered by M. E. de Sarzec at Tello. This limit set by

233		R (Enn. Gudea A, III. 21)  (Déc. pl. 5 bis, n° 2)  (Gudea B, V, 36)	
234		 (TCI no 1, Enn. II, 3) R (Un. Déc. pl. 2, n° 1, III, 7)  (Gudea B, III, 6)	

the author rules out all of the sophisticated script of the later Babylonian epoch, and gives the investigator a larger probability of securing the original, or approximately original, form of the sign under discussion. The arrangement of the page is simple and clear. It consists of three columns: a narrow one on the left containing one sign only, preferably of the epoch of E-an-natum; if such is lacking, then the next that approaches nearest thereto in chronological order. The second column, a wide one, occupies the body of the page, and presents the variants, of the single sign on the left, from those early periods. The third column, a narrow one, gives the neo-Assyrian equivalent, if such has been determined (see sample section of a page of Thureau-Dangin's book above).

M. Thureau-Dangin has given fruitful attention to several difficult problems. He has observed and amply illustrated in his work the fact that two or several archaic signs have sometimes

become confounded under one modern form, so that there is practically no distinction between the simple and the *gun t*-form; and while the archaic signs are often sufficiently distinct in their occurrence, by successive alterations they have become amalgamated into one common modern sign with different values. The phenomenon of the doubling of one archaic into two neo-Assyrian signs is more rare, but cases do occur. Other notes, though exceedingly brief, are quite sufficient for the understanding of the table. The author has endeavored to preserve the exact form of the sign in the passage where it occurs. These signs are placed in the horizontal manner as they appear in the Babylonian-Assyrian inscriptions, "*tel n'était pas cependant le sens primitif*" (p. xi); "*notons seulement, une fois pour toutes, que pour obtenir la position primitive il faut redresser les signes sur la droite*" (p. xii).

The classification of variants presents great difficulties, and so the author has been obliged to content himself in many cases with an apparently arbitrary and provisional order. Again, the chronological order of the variants is not easily determined, because: 1) In handling texts of different origins it is necessary to take into account the divergences which are due to the peculiarities of local epigraphy. Even among texts which are found in any one locality it is necessary to distinguish between the texts produced in that locality and those which have been carried there. This point is especially pertinent with reference to the "finds" at Nippur, which present us with a mixture of different types. 2) The political consolidation of the country would materially affect this condition of things and entirely destroy it after a time. If this observation is legitimate, Hilprecht has run some risk in his method of distinguishing between the inscriptions of various periods.

Another observation of the author should be noted. The kind of material employed made a difference in the form of writing. The use of clay, even for some of the most ancient forms of writing, produced a type of writing which was easily distinguished from that inscribed upon stone. The writer upon clay easily enlarged the first end of the stroke, which soon shaped itself into a wedge. The use of stone hindered this process until a much later time. This use of the wedge, however, broke up the continuous lines, and gave the signs forms which removed them far away from their original appearance.

Still another element to be reckoned into any determination of the age of an archaic text was the tendency to preserve ancient and complex forms when the current form was quite modern and simple. Texts of the same country, engraven under the same conditions, may, according to the caprice of the scribes, present the same sign in very different forms. In fact, the very complexity of form favored a certain amount of liberty in its construction. After these eminently shrewd observations the author classifies all of the archaic inscriptions into five series. His first series includes two little objects of the collection of Blau and some plates in de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, and the fifth series, among others, the Ur-ba-u and Gu-de-a texts. Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions* fall under the third series, and are rightly accounted of less value by considerable than the Tello "finds."

The body of the book consists of 110 pages of beautiful autographic work, evidently reduced by photographic process. On these pages we find under separate numbers, aside from those which are reckoned as variants, a total of 575 archaic signs. Of this totality we note 112 whose identification or modern neo-Assyrian equivalents have not been discovered; also seventeen whose identification has been starred "doubtful" by the author himself. The total number of signs identified is 425, including the "doubtful." The discrepancy between the totals presented is due to the facts of amalgamation and separation of several signs.

We shall now note a few of the interesting facts in the body of the work.—No. 11 (see autograph page, p. 156) presents us one of the original forms of the neo-Assyrian bad, til, whose syllable-value is bad, while No. 278 presents the original of the same modern sign with the value til.—No. 26 is an interesting case of one original which has been doubled in neo-Assyrian into UŠ and ARA D; the evidence of such doubling is shown by citations from archaic texts already published by the author.—Nos. 29 and 432 present two originals of the one neo-Assyrian sign for maš, bar.—No. 32 is a curious case of an original sign which was used in some cases interchangeably with No. 29.—One of the most remarkable cases of amalgamation is seen in the identification of Nos. 144, 145, 147, 56, and 220 in the neo-Assyrian tu. It may safely be questioned whether as yet we have discovered a sufficient variety

of passages to establish such a wonderful amalgamation without finding in neo-Assyrian several additional sign-values. It will also be seen that all five are current on the Gudean inscriptions, which seems to indicate that at that epoch each had its own distinct force and meaning. These five forms furnish, at least, an interesting field for research.—The Remark under No. 188 regarding the almost indiscriminate use of *zu* and *su* in the *Ean*-inscriptions can be made also of the use of these signs on the Gudean cylinders. Another amalgamation is that of Nos. 206 and 476 into the one neo-Assyrian *hi*, having under the former the value of *dug* and in the latter *šár*.—Nos. 363 and 419 terminate in the modern neo-Assyrian *lak*, the latter possessing the phonetic value *sangu* (*šangû*), and phonetic *lag* (*kur-bānu*).—Nos. 423 and 425 likewise terminate in the same neo-Assyrian sign, the former having the value *lil* and the latter *kid*; the former also represents *el*.—The neo-Assyrian *u* is represented in the archaic sign Nos. 257 and 474, and is the same as the sign for the figure 10.—Nos. 481–513 are an invaluable collection of archaic signs for numbers and fractions of numbers.

I have noted a very few errors in the references to the Gudea cylinders, which I have been able to verify by my own copy of those inscriptions. Under No. 53 the reference to Gud. Cyl. B should be XI, 23; in No. 215 it should be Gud. Cyl. A, XXVII, 2; the Gudea sign cited under No. 313 I find on Gud. Cyl. B, XXIV, 17; under No. 388 should not the reference be Gud. Cyl. A, XXIX, 6? The sense may seem to require a line, but it is extremely faint even if it is there.

This book is a long step in the right direction. It is the surest road to the discovery of the real forms and significance of the signs. M. Thureau-Dangin deserves the hearty thanks of all Assyriologists for this valuable collection and contribution to the vexed problem of the origin of wedge-writing.

Closely related to the origin of the cuneiform signs is the question of the character of the language embodied in some of this archaic writing. Since almost the first decipherment of the Assyrian cuneiform characters, scholars have wrestled with the problem of the ideographs, of the so-called bilingual texts, and of the earliest apparently unilingual texts, such as appeared in the first volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. This question has had a checkered history, and seems as far from

an early amicable and rational settlement as it did a decade ago. The discovery of so many valuable texts in the de Sarzec and University of Pennsylvania collections, written in the earliest unilingual form, has aroused scholars to inquire anew into the so-called Sumerian question. Just in the nick of time Dr. F. H. Weissbach has prepared and put out a work on this question.¹⁵ It has necessitated the careful study of over one hundred books and pamphlets, and aims to be an exhaustive study of the subject, barring three works which the author failed to find. The book is made up of two parts: first, a history of the Sumerian question; and, second, on the solution of the question. The first part is divided into three periods: (1) from 1850 to 1874, (2) from 1874 to 1880, (3) from 1880 to the present time. Under each one of these periods the author aims to give a comprehensive statement of the positions of the several scholars and authors who engaged in the conflict on both sides of the question.

In the first period (1850-74) there was practical unanimity among Assyriologists on the existence of a non-Semitic language as the basis of the Babylonian-Assyrian writing; the main difference being as to the character and name of that language. In the second period (1874-80) a new figure arises in the person of M. J. Halévy, who maintained with wonderful linguistic knowledge that this basal language, this ideographic, etc., writing, is none other than Semitic in origin; that the so-called Accadian or Sumerian language is simply a method of hieratic and demotic script adopted by the scribes, etc., in the early Babylonian and Assyrian writing. From 1874 to 1880 M. Halévy held his ground against the whole Assyriological school, and succeeded in showing that the "Turanian" and the "Accadian" had nothing whatever in common. Early in the third period (1880 to the present) Halévy's position was adopted by Stanislas Guyard, the first Assyriologist to join hands with the pioneer anti-Sumerist. The author then discusses in outline the positions of the contestants on both sides of the question down to the present year. The many-sided hypotheses and conjectures, the arguments and counter-arguments, are recited with sufficient fulness for a work of this size. The author's sympathies with the Sumerians often protrude through what he says (*e. g.*, p. 89, note; p. 128, etc.).

¹⁵ *Die sumerische Frage*. Von F. H. Weissbach. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898. v + 189 pp. M. 10.

In summing up (p. 134) the adherents of the non-Semitic (Accadian, Sumerian, or Sumero-Accadian) side of the question, he names among *living* Assyriologists, Oppert, Norris [!], Sayce, Ménant, Schrader, Delitzsch, Hommel, Pinches, and all the later English school, "*Haupt und Hilprecht samt der ganzen (?) transatlantischen Schule*," Bezold, Amiaud [!], Jensen, Zimmern, Winckler, Lehmann, and the historians Gelzer, Babelon, Eduard Meyer, and especially C. P. Tiele.

For the Semitic origin of the cuneiform writing and against the existence of a non-Semitic (Accadian, Sumerian, or Sumero-Accadian) language, we find of *living* scholars the following names: Halévy, M. Grünwald, Pognon, Jäger, McCurdy, and S. Karppe. If we turn to p. iv we find that Alfred Jeremias and F. Thureau-Dangin, according to the author's *Vorwort*, were not "Sumerists," at the vote taken at the last oriental congress in Paris. The *transatlantische Schule* is not in full accord with the views of Haupt and Hilprecht. McCurdy is even mentioned on the other side of the question. Then at Chicago we find W. Muss-Arnolt and E. T. Harper in sympathy with the Halévy side of the question.¹⁶

The last part of the book is to deal with the solution of the question. The author asks four questions, the answers to which from the *Tendenz* in the preceding part of the book we can conjecture before we read a line. (1) Is the cuneiform writing a Semitic or a non-Semitic discovery? (2) Does the so-called Sumerian represent an Assyrian *Allographie* or another language? (3) Is the so-called Sumerian an artificial or natural language? (4) What name shall be given to the so-called Sumerian language? In answering these questions the author uses nearly all of his space in attempting to dethrone Halévy. This was his opportunity to present some constructive work and thus show the real basis of his reasons for combating the Semitic position.

After dealing blows right and left to the whole range of Halévy's arguments, the author comes out into the open, and states as his fixed conclusions: (1) the cuneiform writing is the discovery of a non-Semitic people; (2) the language of this non-Semitic people which lies before us in numberless historical

¹⁶ In view of the array of names on the Semitic side of the question, the "Note by Editor" in Vol. I of *Dictionary of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 1898), at the end of the article on "Accad, Accadians," seems to be quite gratuitous.

inscriptions and religious and grammatical texts is to be designated as Sumerian.

If we turn to the fragmentary, partly mutilated text (p. 176) on which the name is based, we can see how very large a place conjecture plays in the proof of this position.

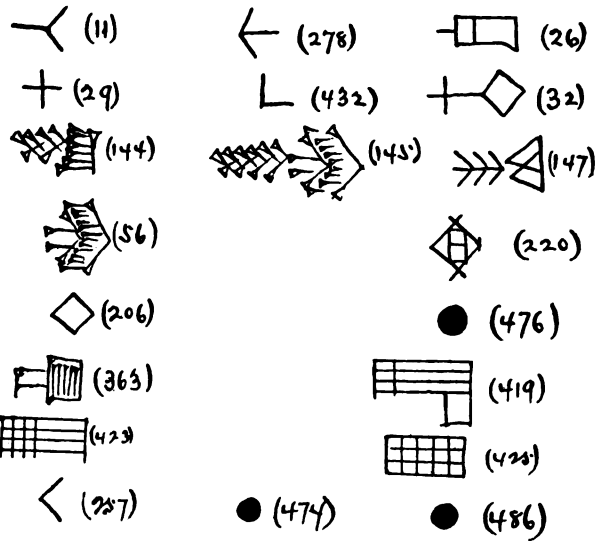
In conclusion we must admit that, while this book gives a good summary of the history of the discussions, it does not yet solve the question. The author spends his useful space in threshing over old straw where he should have made a valuable contribution to the subject.

Now that we possess so many of the earliest unilingual texts, especially those belonging to the rich collections of the de Sarzec "finds" and to the University of Pennsylvania treasures from Nippur, it is time that some one should diligently gather data unmixed with the so-called Semitic influence seen in the bilingual texts, upon which most of the discussions have hitherto been based. Then, in addition to the linguistic data carefully gleaned from these unilingual sources, an untiring investigation must be made of the historical material of those early days. The long contests over the linguistic phase of the problem are sufficient evidence that the question cannot be finally settled without the widest study of many questions which bear on the early history of Babylonia.¹⁷ The historical data, scattered here and there through recognized Semitic inscriptions, and through those which are under dispute as to their linguistic character, are so fragmentary and so widely separated in time as to be of slight value. Then, again, the uncertainty of the epoch, and often of the locality, to which they are to be accredited is a constant embarrassment to the painstaking investigator. Another question that might aid in the solution of the problem is the religious one. What was the religious system prevalent among the original inhabitants of Babylonia? Who were their gods, and what was their method of worship? A careful comparison of this with the recognized Semitic system of Babylonia would not be without weight in the question at issue. Again, the archæological features of that original civilization will come in with their contribution to clear the atmosphere of that early day. All of this is not the work of a day, but must be pursued with patience,

¹⁷ So A. Jeremias in his able review of Weissbach's *Die sumerische Frage*, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, September 17, 1898, cols. 505-8. See also the acknowledgment of the editor of the *Expository Times*, November, 1898, pp. 71, 72.

persistence, and long-suffering. The data must be gathered by many scholars and from many sources. Only by these means can we hope to arrive at conclusions which shall point to the true solution of the character of the earliest language embodied in the cuneiform writings.

[Signs especially mentioned in this article (p. 151).]



THE PALESTINIAN VOCALIZATION.

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Through the kind offices of one of my students, Mr. William H. Feinschreiber, I had the opportunity to examine some manuscript fragments in possession of a Syrian gentleman and get the latter's permission to copy the text published here.

Said fragments contain small portions from Bible and Targum, from the daily prayer-book, from the Talmud and the Mishna, and from the Maḥazor, a portion of an Arabic poem, and a cabalistic work whose beginning and end are missing.

Among these fragments the most interesting are two, viz.: two connected parchment leaves containing some chapters from Mishna Miqwāḥt, with biblical accents and partial vocalization, and one parchment leaf from the Maḥazor, with Palestinian vocalization. From the vocalized words of the Mishna fragment the following are worth mentioning: מְקוֹה, אִמְבִּי, and מְקוֹה, and צִיר "brine."

The Maḥazor fragment is a much mutilated parchment leaf, written on both sides in old square hand, containing four entire *pi'utim* and the last part of a fifth *pi'ut*. The first verses of the four poems are:

אלהי עולם מימות עולם
אל אב אב על פטע
אתה אלהי ישראל
אתה אומר ועשה

They are all alphabetical, except toward the end, and are, as far as I can see, unknown. The text is partly vocalized with the recently discovered so-called Palestinian vocalization. As this is the second piece with such vocalization known, a publication of it will not fail to attract attention, especially since this fragment offers additions to, and modifications of, the system discovered and explained by Dr. Friedländer.

The upper part of the leaf and the upper part of one of the side margins have crumbled away. Besides, there are fissures and lacunæ in the middle. The lower margin is torn, but still preserved, and shows a ragged edge on which there are traces of writing. These traces are too far away from the left margin to have belonged to the custos, but must be a remnant of a lower page, singular as this may appear.

Of orthographical peculiarities the following are to be noticed: The ending of the second pers. masc. perf. is always written **תה**. The words **אלהים**, **אלהי**, **אלהיך** are abbreviated to **ים** or **אים**, **אדי**, **איך**, with abbreviation signs. The **א** frequently lacks its left leg in these abbreviated forms. The same incomplete **א** is frequently found in the word **אל**; also in **נא** and in **ואן** = **ואתה קדוש**. In **אל** the **ל** also sometimes lacks its lower stroke. But the incomplete **א** and **ל** are never written together as one sign. The *šin* has no diacritical point, but the *šin* is written **ש** or **ש**, for the explanation of which see below. The vowels may be written doubly, either both on top, the one above the consonant, the other above the *mater lectionis*; or the one on top above the consonant, the other below, either under the same consonant or under the *mater lectionis*. The conjunctive *dagēš* may be written on the final letter of the preceding word.

As interpunction marks serve the single dot, the double dot, and the circle. The single dot may be written above the word, below the word, or on the upper line between two words. Like the vowels, it may be written doubly. The significance of some of the dots is not apparent. The double dot, or colon, is always written between two words, so that the upper dot rests on the upper line, while the lower dot never touches the lower line, but rests between the lines. The circle is found but once, and is written on the upper line between two words. All the poems but one, which begins a new paragraph, are written continuously.

Of grammatical peculiarities notice that **קמץ** and **פתח** are sometimes interchanged; that instead of *šewa* we find sometimes a full vowel; and that the pronominal ending **ך**, wherever vocalized, is pronounced **ךִ**. *Hōlem* and short *qāmēç*, *çērē*, and *šūreq* are respectively not differentiated.

The following table illustrates the differences between the system found by Dr. Friedlander = F and the one used in this text = L :

	F	L
קמץ גדול	מֶ	מֶ
פתח	מֶ	מֶ
צירי	מֶ	מֶ
סגול	מֶ	מֶ
חרק	מֶ	מֶ
חולם	מֶ	מֶ
קמץ חטוף	wanting	מֶ
שורק, קברץ	מֶ	מֶ
שוא נע	מֶ	מֶ, מֶ
שוא נח	wanting	מֶ
דגש	מֶ, פֶ	מֶ
רפה	wanting	מֶ

The difference, then, as far as the two systems, or rather developments of the same system, can be compared, consists in the different denotation of צירי and שוא. The sign פֶ for דגש and the differentiation of סגול from צירי point to F being a later development.

This system is evidently based on that of the Nestorian Syriac, together with that of Arabic. Some of the signs are bodily taken over, others are modified. Thus, the sign for פתח is the Syriac half ܦܬܚܐ, the Arabic ٱ, originally ٲ, differing only in position from the פתח in the Tiberian system. The קמץ, as in Arabic, is a perpendicular פתח, showing that it was pronounced ā, not a; a fact still more emphasized by the קמץ חטוף having another sign. The sign for צירי and סגול is that of ܦܬܚܐ مبدل; that for חרק is ܦܬܚܐ ܘܫܬܪܝܐ, only turned in a perpendicular direction. The sign for שורק is a combination of ܦܬܚܐ and of ܘܫܬܪܝܐ, indicating that the sound u inclined toward o. The sign for חולם is a combination of that of שורק with that of ܘܫܬܪܝܐ, indicating that the sound o inclined toward u. The sign for שוא is a modification

of that of סגול. The sign for דגש, שוא, רפה, and ש is the Arabic ġezm. It is to be supposed that the last sign did also service for מפיק.

To understand how one and the same sign could be used for five different purposes, we must make a digression to investigate the etymology and significance of the term דגש. The word comes from a verb now found only in Ethiopic: *daqasa* "to recline, rest," from which we also get the "bed" דרגש. It is, therefore, a translation of the Arabic سكون. Its sign, the circle, symbolizes "emptiness." The original function of דגש was, therefore, that of the later שוא, i. e., silent sewa, a meaning still found in the Massorah. As a sign of rest it could also serve for רפה on the ה, and hence its use spread to the בגדכפת. In order not to confound it with דגש in the modern sense of that term, its sign was modified. We must, however, keep in mind that in Syriac the sign for مضعف and مضعف, i. e., for דגש and רפה, is the same.

Now, the process we call dageshing has been conceived to have two functions: that of doubling and that of hardening. The former is expressed by the Arabic تَضْعِيف. The latter is expressed in the Syriac term مَجْنَم and in the Arabic تَشْدِيد. Viewing it from the point of doubling, מ, e. g., was = מ־מ. Therefore, when the Massorah remarks, e. g., מ' בדגש, it means to say: the מ contains a שוא נח, another vowelless מ. Looking at it from the point of view of hardening, strengthening, or emphasizing, it is not difficult to understand how the verb דדגיש came to mean "to pronounce distinctly, emphatically." Under such a conception the sign could be used on the one hand for מפיק, on the other hand to denote the hard sound of ש. But, since the Arabic تَشْدِيد is written ش, ש could be denoted either ש or ש = ש. The term דגש was further used to denote a group of sounds called in Syriac grammar بِيْتَقُ. Cf. my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, p. 129.

Turning now to the other two systems of vocalization, we find some elements of the Palestinian system taken over, with more or less modification, and other elements modeled after the Arabic. Thus, in the Babylonian system, as it has already been pointed out

by others, the sign for פתח is an abbreviated א, modeled after the Arabic, where the same is the case. The sign of the קמץ is the same פתח with its upper horizontal bar raised toward the perpendicular, corresponding to the Arabic sign for long *a*. The sign for צרי is a modification of the Palestinian. That for vocal šewa is the sign for Syriac ܫܘܐ, of which השק is a translation.¹ The sign for חולם is a combination of those of וָ and וֹ. The sign for שורק is, like the Arabic, the letter ו. The sign for הירק is the Syriac ܫܩܐ, perhaps suggesting י.

In the Tiberian system, פתח, צרי, and הירק are the same as in the preceding. קמץ is a combination of פתח and חולם, an explanation already given by Ibn Ezra.² שוא is the same as in the Palestinian system, and the סגול is a modification of it. The חולם and שורק signs are the Syriac וֹ and וָ, respectively. The dot of the שורק should have come under the ו, but was placed inside of it to avoid confusion with הירק. The sign of קבוץ is a modification of the חולם of the Palestinian system. The sign רפה is that of the שוא in the Babylonian system. That sign serves also in the latter for דגש, just as in the Palestinian system these two are identical. Finally, the sign for בפיסק, דגש, and ש is all one. It remains to find the origin of the dot for the דגש. This dot was suggested by the meaning of the Syriac verb ܦܬܬܐ "to pierce." But this may also be Syriac ܦܬܬܐ.

The dot on the ש is a later development, as a contrast to ש.

It should be added that the דגש sign, instead of being a half-circle (◌◡), is sometimes more angular (◡), and thus closely resembles the tašdid sign in the Maghrib ductus (◡) of Arabic writing.

recto.

מִשְׁגֵּב לַחַם נְהִי־תָה : נֹדֶג : מִמְעֵי אֵימֹ : צִוִּיתָה יִשְׁלַךְ . . . שִׁמְךָ
בִּשְׁמוֹ עִרְבָתָה : שְׁאִירֵיךָ לְטוֹב עִרְבָתָה : . . . יוֹדֵעַ שִׁמְךָ וְיֹדֵעַ עֲמֶךָ
שִׁמְךָ] וְכָל הַנִּקְרָא בִּי . . . שִׁמְךָ : נִין אֲשֶׁר יִצְרָתָה לְכַבֹּדְךָ וְצִרְתָּה
דְּמִיתִיךָ בְּכֹסֶא כְבוֹדְךָ : יַעֲקֹב] . . . וְאַתָּה אֲדֹר יַעֲקֹב יִשְׂרָאֵל נִיקְרָא

¹ Cf. Levias in *AJSL*, Vol. XIII, p. 79.

² צהרות ed. Lippmann, 3b. Kautzsch, in his last edition of *Gesenius' Hebr. Gram.*, p. 36, note 1, curiously terms this explanation "die Entdeckung Nestle's"!

ואתה אלהי ישראל : יהי הקם לו את אשר קראתה ומונך עליו כל אשר אמרתה כל ועתה כה אמר [י] בוראך ונ כל הנקרא בשמי ואם אל נא בצאתו ובבואו בורך יעקב אשר בשמו תבורך אלהי יעקב מזכירים שמו ומברכים שמך כי הזכרתה שמו בזכרון שמך בשכינת ה'ה נראית ע'וד ובירכתו למאוד בלי למע'ד כי אתה] תברך וצדיק יתברך * בורך ים אלהי ישראל כי בשם ישראל תתברך בדרך וקדוש

אלהי עולם מימות עולם לימדתה ע'לוה לבאי [עולם] ברכת ה'תנים לימדתה מיציר ועירו [or ועזרו] ובקור חולים מאב מילה בגזרו : גם יהיה אבילים מאיש תם הודעתה בעת בדרך פ'ך עליו נודעתה : דרך כל כהוקרא בדרך למיניקה [בנ]ש...

ר'בקה באה כי נע'תקה ... לא שליו מ'כאיב כ'ה ירך ושרם שקט מ'י'תה עליו בדרך מזר ... מינקת המ'חוללת בא ר'גז על מ'יתת ת'חוללת : ז'עק ונאבל מ'ט[ה] ... לאותו מקום ניקרא א'לון בכות : ה'י בכך נראית לו לנחמו וברכת א[בריהם] ? על אימו : ט'יכס שם חדש אותו בקוראך נקרא ק'רואך ומקוראך : יעקב [שמך] ? תונקב' וגם לא תונקב' ישרתה לש'רי אל תיקרא ישראל לעולם וירא אים ... אל אב אביל על פ[יש] ע'י בעת י'טב לשמור ש'כעו : בעבור לידע כי הוא מ'שע ... קדוש ישראל מושיע : אל ג'לום בכסא כבוד במקום אשר אין שם כבוד : ד'רש ... להלוק לו כבוד ונגלה לו כבוד אל הכבוד : אל ה'מיהם ב'מקלו צאן רועה ישראל ניהגו כצאן : ומילטו מ'אנשי לצון ועיטרו כצינה רצון : אל זכור נדרו אשר נ'שה וכיבשתו לכן נ'נשה : ח'דת ע'לו אתו נ'שא והודיעו כי לא נ'שא : אל ט'הור ח'מים ד'לים אשר ט'קן ט'הות ד'לים : ילדיו בהיראות ב'ונים מלאכי צבאות במ מברכים : אל כומס ב'ורה וברכה ונקרא בן בכור ואב ב'מה : לעת י'צא נ'כללה לו ברכה ועת בא ניכפלה לו ב'מה : אל מ'ובא מ'ארם מ'רובע ובמהנותיו נ'תרבע : נשים ופילגשים ארבע ...

³ The upper parts of בנ are still visible. The word was probably בקשוא.

⁴ The sign , though written over the ק, seems to belong to the ב.

⁵ The upper parts of יש are still recognizable.

verso.

... בִּיתוֹ בְּמִלְכָּה יִיבֶן : עָלָיו כְּוֹנֵן ... רָגְלוֹ לֹא נִוְגְפָה ... וְהוֹלֵךְ
 בְּחֹם וְלִקְהִלָּיתוֹ הִבֵּשׁ מִתּוֹם צְדָקָת בְּרִכְתּוֹ לַחֲתוֹם כִּי ל' ... דִּיּוֹ
 יָתוֹם : אֵל קָרְאֵי הָיָה בְשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב לְבָל יִקְרָא עוֹד יַעֲקֹב ... [ע]וֹתוֹ
 בְּמִישְׁתָּר [עָקֹב וְשֵׁם כְּשִׁמּוֹ אֲחִי לְנָקֹב : אֵל שְׁלֹם בְּכָל וּמִכֹּלָל ... ת
 נִיתְכַּלָּל : ת' ... שִׁמּוֹ נִיבְלָל וְנִכְלָל וְשִׁמּוֹ יֵצֵא וְנִיתְכַּלָּל : וּבִכְן ... הָיָה
 שׁ אֲתָה [א]הִי יִשְׂרָאֵל : בְּךָ יִגָּל יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׁמַח יֵשׁ : גְּדוֹל הוּא שִׁמְךָ
 [בִּישׁ : דְּבִרְךָ אֵךְ] טוֹב עַל יֵשׁ : הַיּוֹתָךְ [ל]אֵב לִישׁ : וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶיית אֲבָן
 יֵשׁ : זֶה יִקְרָא בְשֵׁם [יֵשׁ : ה]קוֹקְהָ עֵידוֹת לִישׁ : טָרִם [תַּתָּךְ] חוֹק
 לִישׁ : יִידְעָתָה אֲדֹנִי יֵשׁ : כִּי אֲתָה אִים [בִּישׁ :] לֶכֶן יֹאמֶר נָא [יֵשׁ :]
 מַלְכוּת [ךְ] מֶלֶךְ יֵשׁ : נִיֵּצֵב יוֹשֵׁב תְּהִילּוֹת יֵשׁ : סִיחַ אֱלֹהֵי אֵיךְ [יֵשׁ :] עוֹד
 לֹא יִזְכָּר בִּישׁ : פֶּקֶד מִסְפָּר בְּנֵי יֵשׁ : צְבָאוֹת מִתִּי יֵשׁ : קוֹשֵׁט אֲשִׁירְךָ
 יֵשׁ : רֹאשִׁית קוֹדֵשׁ יֵשׁ : שִׁבָּה גְּאוֹתְךָ עַל יֵשׁ : תִּבְרַךְ אֵת בֵּית יֵשׁ : כִּי
 בְּרִכְתְּךָ בְשֵׁם יֵשׁ : וְקִדְוֶשְׁתְּךָ בְשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב וְצְבָאוֹת מַעֲלָה וּמִטָּה זֶה יִקְרָא
 בְּשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה יִכְנֶה בְשֵׁם יֵשׁ וְזֶה יֹאמֶר בְּרוּךְ הוּא וְזֶה יֹאמֶר קְדוֹשׁ
 הוּא וְהוּא מְבוֹרָךְ בָּם וְנִקְדָּשׁ בָּם כֹּךְ וְקָרָא

וישב יעקב

אֲתָה אוֹמֵר וְעִשָּׂה : בִּיאֹר מֵאֲמִירָךְ מַעֲשֶׂה : גָּבַר אֲשֶׁר בְּךָ יִחְסֶה :
 דְּבִרְךָ בּוֹ יָקוֹם ... הִבְטַחְתָּהּ ... אֵשׁ : וְהִחְסִיתָהּ לְנִעְקָד בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ אֵשׁ :
 זִימְנָתָה [לוֹ אֵשׁ :] הִנֵּה בָהּ הוּא וּבִיתוֹ הַמְּשׁוּל בָּאשׁ : טוֹב בְּרִכּוֹת
 הַשְׂאֵבָתוֹ : יְהִיר ... כַּעַת אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁלּוֹם הָיִשְׁבָּתוֹ : לְבַטַּח בַּד הוֹשְׁבָתוֹ :
 כֹּךְ וְיִשֵּׁב וְנֹ לֵאמֹר לְךָ אֲתָן ... תַּחֲסִם מִתִּי בָהּ תִּיטְעִינוּ וְנִמְנָה בִל
 תִּטְעִינוּ ... נִטְעִינוּ ב' ... אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכְּרוּ אֲחִים : נָתַן קִטְמָה בֵּין אֲחִים :
 ס ... טוֹב וְלֵעִים : עָבֹר ... אֲחִיו נָחִים : פְּעוֹלָת מַעֲלִיָּהֶם הָרָעִים :
 צֶאֱן בַּעַת הָיוּ [רָעִים :] קוֹשֵׁט לִפְנֵי אֵב הָרָעִים : הֵךְ הַזִּכָּר בַּמַּעֲלָלִיו
 כִּי נָעִים : שְׁפָלוּ בְנֵי אִימָהוֹת שָׁחוּ בְנֵי אִמָּהוֹת : תִּמְוֹר ... מִיִּצְוִי קָךְ

⁶ This ך may also be ך.

⁷ The sign ֿ is used here in the sense of the Massoretic חטם = רפה.

לִידֹת : חֶקֶה וְנִחִיִּיחֶם רֹאשׁ לְתוֹלְדֹת כֹּכ אֱלֹהִי הִ לְכוּ חֲזוּ מַפְעֲלוֹת
 [י:] רֹעֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹפִיעָה מִמְרוֹמִים עֲלִינוּ בְּרַחֲמִים וְהַטְּלִיל תַּחֲיִית
 רְדוּמִים בּ . . . יִשְׁבֶּת מְנוּחָה אִזּ לֹא מִצָּאֵנוּ בְּכָל הָאֲרָצוֹת אֲשֶׁר יִצְאָנוּ :
 נִדְמִינוּ לְאִישׁ חָם אֲשֶׁר יָשָׁב בְּמוֹשְׁבוֹתָיו וְתַעֲלֹל עֵיִן בְּנוֹאֵי יִשְׁבּוֹתָיו
 יִשְׁיִבָּה אֵין לְטוֹבֵטִי זֶרַע צָדִיק עַד יִפְרְעוּ כֶסֶף אֲשֶׁר מִכְרוּ צָדִיק : יָבוֹאוּ
 וְיִשְׁוּבוּ וְעַד לֹא יִנָּשֵׁב רֵם בְּנוֹחַ שְׁלוֹם יִשְׁבוּ וְיַחֲשִׁיבוּ כֹכ וְיִשָּׁב עֲמִי
 בְּנוֹחַ וְנִ וְיִשְׁבוּ עַל אֲדָמָתָם וְאֵ קֵ אֵל נָא

The bracketed consonants and words are attempts to fill up the lacunæ.

NOTES ON ISAIAH, CHAP. 7.

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The usual interpretation of **אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמנו**, chap. 7:9b, involves some difficulties. One is a purely syntactical one, concerning the particle **כי**. Geiger found it objectionable and suggested **ב** in its place. "If ye have no confidence *in me*, ye shall not abide." Delitzsch thinks this emendation entirely unnecessary, and cites several other instances (Gen. 31:42; 43:10; Numb. 22:29, 33; 1 Sam. 14:30, 39) to prove that **כי** is here, too, in its right place. But a closer examination of the sentences cited by him shows how unlike they are to the one under consideration. In all of them **כי** introduces consequents of uncertainty or contrary to fact. But a positive threat like that which **אם לא תאמנו** is here understood to convey is not preceded by this affirmative particle (*cf.* Isa. 1:20 and Deuteronomy *passim*).

Another and greater difficulty arises from the context. Isaiah comes to inspire the king with confidence and courage. He gives him the grounds for such confidence, vss. 8-9a. But his words are probably listened to with stolid indifference, if not with impatience. Are we to suppose that a prophet like Isaiah immediately loses his temper and hurls a denunciation of judgment upon his listeners? That would have put an end to his overtures, and we should look in vain for a second visit of the messenger of God to the king. But he does pay him a second visit, and even this time, when Ahaz positively rejects all offers, the prophet does not yet threaten. He only points out his wickedness (vs. 13). What more natural than that in the first interview he did the same?

Would it, then, not be more correct to translate the sentence thus: "If ye do not trust, . . . for ye are not trustworthy"? The consequent of the hypothetical clause is, for the time being, suppressed. The prophet is here to convince, not to threaten. And though at the sight of the king's hesitation a threat may force itself to the prophet's lips, he restrains himself. He gives vent

to his momentary anger by exclaiming how wicked his listeners are, as he does in the following paragraph. Similar constructions, where a clause is suppressed and a "Gedankenstrich" is to be supplied, we find in Gen. 30:27; 38:17; 50:15; Job 38:5 (with this last instance compare the verse preceding it and vs. 18 of the same chapter). If we follow the clue afforded by Gen. 50:15, we may translate it: "Ye probably do not trust; for ye are not trustworthy." For this meaning of the Niph'al of נָאֵם, cf. Gen. 42:20; 1 Kings 8:26; Ps. 78:8, 37; 2 Chron. 1:9.

Now, as to the explanation of the sign, vss. 14-17, I think some expositors find too much in it. So Mitchell, for instance, says that this sign will be one to confound, rather than to comfort, the king who wearies God. Therefore, as the words immediately following imply the favor of Jehovah (*Emanu-el*), they cannot completely describe the sign, but the next verse must be taken with them. The sign, then, is twofold. First there will be a time of peace and deliverance, so that mothers will feel prompted by gratitude to call their children *Emanu-el*, or give them names of similar import. No child need actually bear this name *Emanu-el*. But in two or three years, when these *Emanuels* will have arrived at the age of knowing the distinction between good and evil, the punishment will have come, namely, the children will have to subsist on such humble fare as curds and honey. Vss. 16-17 are then further explanations of the two phases of the sign.

The same interpretation of the sign is given by Dillmann. Delitzsch, too, sees a threat rather than a promise in it.

Now, in the first place, how can we make the plain, explicit statement, "and she shall call his name *Emanu-el*," so indefinite as not to mean to predict "that any child would actually bear this exact name"? And how can we say (with Duhm) that הַלְלֵמָה is an indefinite person, any woman? How can we tell whether הַמֵּאֵה רַבִּישׁ refers to a calamity any more than to a blessing? In the second place, after all that has been said by the commentators we are yet entirely in the dark as to the sign itself. In what consists that sign? Let us not forget what such a sign offered by a prophet means. When a prophet predicts or demands something which the addressed ones refuse to comply with or to believe, the prophet, in order to show them the power and authority vested in him, either performs something marvelous

before their very eyes, like the *othôth* Moses performs before the people to inspire them with faith, or like the *oth* Isaiah offers Hezekiah during the latter's sickness (*cf.* Isa. 38:7, 8); or predicts something that will occur in the meantime. When the prediction concerning the proximate event proves true, they are induced to believe that that concerning the ultimate event will also prove true. Such is the *oth* with which God engenders faith in Moses. He tells him: "When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain" (Exod. 3:12). And such *othôth* Samuel gives Saul (*cf.* 1 Sam. 10:7).

What, then, is the *oth* Isaiah here offers? Nothing else than that "the child to which the young woman (a person well known to his hearers) is soon to give birth will be a son."

Now, like every other sign in the Old Testament, this one, too, is necessarily in confirmation of a promise. A threat cannot yet be thought of. For again I must ask: Why should Isaiah immediately threaten? Is it because the king refuses a token that God will wreak such vengeance upon him? This is absurd. True, the prophet is indignant at the king's refusal. But he is not so indignant as to lose control of himself and to forget the purpose of his meeting with Ahaz, namely, to dissuade him from invoking Assyria's help. To his indignation he gives vent in vs. 13. As the king refuses to ask a token, the prophet simply states that God will give him one unsolicited (דָּרַא). When this prediction concerning the birth of a son proves true, then, the prophet adds, the young woman will confidently call him Emanu-el, for the people will be convinced that the former prediction, לֹא חָקִים וְלֹא תִהְיֶה, will also prove true. Let Ahaz, then, wait for the fulfilment of this token, but let him by no means appeal to Assyria. If, however, he does not wait, but carries out his suicidal policy of casting himself for help upon Assyria (which hypothetical clause has unfortunately dropped out of our text), "the Lord shall bring upon thee and upon thy people . . . even the king of Assyria." That a connecting link between vss. 16 and 17 is missing will be admitted by all. (*Cf.* LXX *ad loc.*)

The difficulty that still remains is about vs. 15. But the best we can do is to consider it a late gloss, for which we have good authority: Hitzig, Reuss, Stade, Duhm, Cheyne.

Contributed Notes.

JOB AND MUSLIM COSMOGRAPHY.

In the cosmography of Islām, as in the cosmographies of India, the world is thought of as supported on a series of different things, each coming, stage-wise, under the other. In this note I will try to show that the nomenclature, at least, of some of these stages has been derived from the book of Job.

A good statement of this cosmographical idea is given in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* of ath-Tha'labi, who was known as a transmitter of traditions and a commentator on the Qur'ān, and who died A. H. 427 or 437 (Ibn Khall, I, p. 60, of de Slone's translation). His book is filled with the most extraordinary stories, but the view of the situation of the world given in it was and remains that of Islām. He says (p. 4 of Cairo edition of A. H. 1298) that the traditionalists by general consent, though in varying words, report that the earth is made in seven stories or stages, and that an angel is underneath holding it on his shoulders with his two outstretched hands. Under the angel is a bull with 70,000 horns and 40,000 feet, and the angel stands upon its hump. To give the angel sure foothold a green *Yāqūt* or sapphire is placed between the hump of the bull and its ears. The horns of the bull come out from the sides of the earth and are like prickles or fish-hooks under the Empyrean Throne. Its nose is in the sea, and it breathes once every day. When it breathes out it is flood-tide, and when it draws its breath back there is ebb. Under it is a green stone on which it stands, and under that again a great fish (*Nūn*), "and it is the mighty fish (*Hūt*), its *Ism* is لوتيا, its *Kunya* بلهوت, and its *Laqab* يهوت." This fish is upon the sea and the sea on the back of the wind (على متن الريح) and the wind upon power (القدرة). Then follows a story from Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a Jewish proselyte to Islām who died A. H. 32, of how Iblis tempted the fish to rebel, but how God reduced it again to obedience. In this story the fish is addressed يا لوتيا. A voice of scientific protest against all this may be worth noticing. It is that of *Yāqūt*, the geographer (d. A. H. 626), who in the introduction to his great geographical dictionary ridicules such narratives as stories of the *Quṣṣās*, professional reciters of wonderful tales for the amusement of the populace. These *Quṣṣās* manufactured traditions right and left to turn an honest penny (see on them at length Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, II, pp. 153 sqq., and *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 320), but the details of the Leviathan allusion here, to which I wish to draw

attention, with its knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, were a flight beyond street-corner reciters and must go back to older and more respected sources.

On pp. 132-42 of this same book by ath-Tha'labi the story of Job, or *Ayyūb*, is given¹ in the utmost wealth of detail. The principal part is on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, another converted Jew, who died A. H. 110, but there are references, too, to Ka'b and to others. Wahb's story is evidently based, though with most curious variations, on our book of Job. In it, in what corresponds to the speech of Yahwé in Job (chaps. 38-41), there occurs the following passage (p. 138): "Where wast thou on the day when I created **اليهموت**, his place is where the dust ceases, and **اللوتيا**, they two bear the mountains and cities and inhabited land, their tusks are like long fir trees and their heads like mountains and the fibers of their thighs like pillars of brass?"

I do not think there can be any doubt that **يهموت** here is a mis-transcription for **بهموت**, *i. e.*, **בהמות**, and **לوتيا** for **לויטא** or **לויטן**, *i. e.*, **לוייתן**. Such changes were certain to occur when names were written without diacritical points.² But what is **بلهوت**? The best I can suggest is **בלהות** *terrors*, which is a characteristic word in Job, occurring there five times and only five times elsewhere. Especially to be noted is the phrase **בלהות בלך** *king of terrors* (18:14), with its semi-mythological suggestions. It may be a point for inquiry whether this phrase in later Jewish literature has not received legendary amplification.

Finally, it should be said that both Ka'b al-Ahbār and Wahb b. Munabbih, whom we have found in such suspicious surroundings, are regarded in traditional science as habit-and-repute liars. It is certain that the greater part of the Jewish legends which have found their way into Muslim mythology passed through their hands, and that these were carefully doctored by them and adapted to Muslim taste.

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¹ *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 145 sqq.

² In my former paper (p. 146) I have pointed out how Eliphaz has become **اليفن**, Bildad (**بلدد**) مالك, and Zophar **ظافر**.

Book Notices.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN EPISTOLARY LITERATURE.¹

Dr. Johnston, in *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, has made a contribution to the study of the Letter Literature. This dissertation was first printed in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 125-75, and Vol. XIX, pp. 41-96. It has been reprinted in separate form, with the retention of the original pagination.

The author first gives us a "General Introduction to the Letter Literature," with a very fair estimate of the work which has already been done by scholars, and also of what remains to be done. In this introduction notice is taken of the studies of George Smith, Pinches, Fox Talbot, Strassmaier, S. A. Smith, Delitzsch, R. F. Harper, Berry, and others. To Delitzsch is given the credit of doing the first really scientific work in his articles in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (1889-91). The student is referred to Dr. Berry's dissertation, *The Letters of the R^m 2. Collection*, HEBRAICA, Vol. XI, pp. 174-202, for a complete bibliography. Although the term "Epistolary" or "Letter Literature" refers, by general consent, to the Letters of the period of the Sargonides, and it is in this sense used in this dissertation, the author does well to give a short account of the Tel el-Amarna tablets—about four hundred in number—discovered in the winter of 1887-8. In addition to this introduction, we have in Part I a transliteration and translation, with special historical introductions, of the following Letters: Bel-ibni, K. 524 (H. 282), K. 13 (H. 281), K. 10 (H. 280); Nabû-ušabši, K. 528 (H. 269), K. 79 (H. 266); Sin-tabni-ušur, K. 824 (H. 290); Ša-Ašur-dubbu, K. 469 (H. 138); Nabû-šum-iddina, K. 629 (H. 65), K. 547 (H. 62); Išdi-Nabû, K. 589 (H. 187); Nabû'a, K. 551 (H. 142); Balasi and Nabû-ahe-erba, K. 565 (H. 77); Arad-Ea, K. 1024 (H. 28); Arad-Nanâ, S. 1064 (H. 392), K. 519 (H. 108); Ištar-dûri, K. 504 (H. 157); Bel-Ikîša and Babilâ, K. 660 (H. 66); Tab-šil-Ešara,² K. 515 (H. 89); Sarâ'a, K. 1274 (H. 220); Bel-upâk, K. 1239 (H. 219)—twenty in all.

In Part II we have a few pages of notes, textual, grammatical, and lexicographical, a glossary, an "Index of Proper Names," three tables: (1) "The Sargonide Kings of Assyria;" (2) "The Royal Family of Elam," contemporary with Esarhaddon and Sardanapallus; (3) "The Chaldean Kings of Bitiakîn;" and a bibliography.

¹ THE EPISTOLARY LITERATURE OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS. A Dissertation presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (1894) by Christopher Johnston. Baltimore, 1898. 51 + 56 pp.

² Cf. K. 8402, a Letter from this writer. Cf. above, p. 131.

I should like to make the following general observations on this work: (1) that the methods employed are strictly scientific; (2) that the translations are done into good, intelligent English—an unusual thing in such translations; (3) that the author's references to those who have preceded him, as well as to those who are working in this field at the present time, are always courteous and fair; and (4) that it is a distinct contribution to the study of the Letter Literature.

Dr. Johnston has made several corrections in the texts of the Letters published. I am inclined to think that my copy of K. 469, rv. 13 (H. 138), is correct, viz.: u-ka-ip-ni (uḫā'ip-ni), without *u*. Delitzsch's rule does not always hold—especially in the Letters. In the glossary it would have been useful to students if the author had added forms from the other Letters, as in the cases of *bādu*, *ḥannû*, *kamāsu*, etc.

The Letter Literature is difficult and important. There is room for many workers, who may expect to obtain good results in customs, history, and the lexicon. It is to be hoped that Dr. Johnston will continue his studies in these lines.

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KING'S FIRST STEPS IN ASSYRIAN.¹

King's *First Steps in Assyrian* is a manual, a method. It is always well to judge a book from the author's standpoint, and hence I quote from the preface: "The aim of the present work is to furnish the beginner with all the materials which he will require in his earliest studies of the Assyrian language and the cuneiform inscriptions. It contains a sketch of the most useful facts concerning the cuneiform system of writing, and an outline of the principles of Assyrian grammar; a list of the more common signs and ideograms; a series of texts and extracts, printed in the Assyrian cuneiform character with interlinear transliteration and translation, ranging in date from about B. C. 2250 to B. C. 260; and a full vocabulary to all the texts printed in the book."

The author has selected a great variety of texts. All branches of the Babylonian and Assyrian literature are represented. The Babylonian texts are printed in the Assyrian (Ninevite) characters. Great care has also been exercised in choosing texts which are of historical value.

The method of transliteration is the one in common use in America and on the continent—differing from that of Sayce. The translation is word for word, and the vocabulary is complete, the words being arranged in alphabetical order, after the style of Arnolt's *Dictionary*, and by roots, after Delitzsch, with cross references.

For beginners, and especially for those who cannot have the instruction of a teacher, this method is by far the most complete and satisfactory

¹ FIRST STEPS IN ASSYRIAN. A Book for Beginners, being a Series of Historical, Mythological, Religious, Magical, Epistolary and other Texts printed in Cuneiform Characters with Interlinear Transliteration and Translation, and a Sketch of Assyrian Grammar. Sign-List and Vocabulary. By L. W. King, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1898. cxxxix + 399 pp.; large 8vo. 15s.

yet published. A student with the help of this book may pursue the study of Assyrian alone. Many more do this in England than in America, where Assyrian is taught in all the universities of importance. For students at the university I should prefer Winckler's *Chrestomathy*, because of the number of complete texts furnished. The student feels that he has accomplished something definite when he has read a complete text, *e. g.*, of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib (Taylor), or Shalmaneser (Obelisk). The type makes these texts easier for beginners. After all, it may be as well—even with a teacher—to read these texts hurriedly before taking up the complete texts.

One may differ in some places about the transliteration and translation, but the work has been very well done, and it would not be gracious to haggle over small and insignificant points. The book has received very favorable comment from its reviewers both in England and America, as well as on the continent.

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T. WITTON DAVIES ON MAGIC, DIVINATION, AND DEMONOLOGY.¹

The treatment of the subject is wholly inadequate to its importance. Dr. Davies, it is true, has made a careful study of the material furnished by the Old Testament, and due credit is to be given him for this, but he failed lamentably in the task of working up this material. There are several reasons for this failure. In the first place, he has not penetrated far enough into the philosophy of magic and divination; secondly, he is lacking in a knowledge of Semitic antiquities; and, thirdly, his philological training, despite the excellence of his teachers, is defective. The manner in which he cites authorities is unscientific. As an example we chose at random the note on p. 20, where Max Müller's *Hibbert Lectures* are quoted without even a reference to the page, and where, in addition, he gives Max Müller the title of "Sir." See also pp. 32, 95, 100, 114, etc. Sometimes he refers to Tylor's *Primitive Culture* as "Tylor" and again as "*Prim. Cult.*" His introduction of Arabic words after he has indicated the transliteration is as superfluous as it is annoying. The entire introductory chapter is of no critical value and fairly bristles with crudities. In dilettante fashion he adds the date of an author's death when referring to him (*e. g.*, pp. 11 and 21), and translates the titles of books, and, what is more, makes mistakes in doing so (p. 31). The calmness with which he sets aside authorities like Robertson Smith (p. 27), Tylor (p. 18), Jevons (p. 20) is amusing when we consider how poorly prepared the author is for his task.

The body of the book (pp. 30-61 and 78-102) is taken up with an enumeration and superficial discussion of the terms for sorcerer and

¹ MAGIC, DIVINATION, AND DEMONOLOGY AMONG THE HEBREWS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS. Including an Examination of Biblical References and of Biblical Terms. By T. Witton Davies. London: Clarke & Co., 1898. xvi + 132 pp. 3s. 6d.

sorcery in the Old Testament. The etymologies are frequently so absurd as hardly to merit serious consideration. When he attempts to avail himself of comparative material, he makes the most elementary mistakes. He makes Ea (p. 69) a goddess (!!!) and introduces a mysterious deity, Misku. Presumably Nusku is intended. In addition to the defects pointed out, the disposition of the subject is so awkward that the book is full of repetitions and confusions. Whether under these circumstances it is a blessing or a misfortune that the book is not provided with an index, is a knotty point. One is surprised to learn from the bombastic array of meaningless titles which the author adds to his name on the title-page that he is "Professor of Old Testament Literature North Wales Baptist College Bangor and Lecturer in Semitic Languages University College Bangor." It is a pity that he should have been encouraged to publish so crude a piece of work and one which is practically worthless.

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PAUTZ' MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG.¹

This is an elaborate and laborious work executed without plan or judgment. Dr. Pautz belongs to a past generation in German scholarship. He is trying to be an Arabic scholar and an investigator of Qur'anic theology, and he is very emphatically a Lutheran pastor and preacher. Like Dr. Middleton in *The Egoist* he carries a pulpit about with him, which he sets up from time to time and rolls out from it sonorous periods. He cannot restrain himself from shallow reflections of a sermon type (e. g., pp. 193 and 202); his "we" is the first person of the pulpit.

Dr. Pautz has prepared himself for his task with a course of reading of the broadest kind and heaps up at every turn an uncritical accumulation of authorities. Thus on pp. 106-7 we find Voltaire and Muir, Turpin and August Müller, Washington Irving and Sprenger, Ockley and Krehl, with many others—all a miscellaneous fellowship. Yet, in spite of this array of literature, in and out of date, some things have escaped him. On pp. 171 sq., where he discusses the origin and use of *Rahmān* as a name for God, he makes no mention of D. H. Müller's article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. X, pp. 285-92, on the use of that name in south Arabian inscriptions, nor of the large possible consequences which that article opened up. Nor does he seem to have known Arnold's *Preaching of Islām*. But it is true that such omissions are exceptional, and Dr. Pautz may be allowed the praise of having made a very broad and complete collection of the literature on his subject. His Arabic basis is also good, if not quite so broad. He has used the commentaries of al-Bayḍāwī, az-Zamakhshari and the two

¹ MUHAMMEDS LEHRE VON DER OFFENBARUNG QUELLENMÄSSIG UNTERSUCHT. Von Dr. Otto Pautz. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898. viii + 304 pp.; 8vo. M. 8.

Jalāls, the *Itqān* of as-Suyūṭī, the traditions of al-Bukhārī, but apparently only in Krehl's incomplete edition, Ibn Hishām, aṭ-Ṭabari, Yāqūt, al-Mas'ūdī, and other texts. The elaborateness of the references is often amusing. Dr. Pautz does not seem to realize that there is only one Yāqūt and that Wüstenfeld is his prophet; he gives full details of number of volumes, date, and exact title. To be told at length how many volumes are in Freytag's lexicon and when they were printed cannot be interesting or useful to the reader. If he feels any inclination to verify Dr. Pautz reference, he certainly needs no bibliographical help in doing so. But all that would be nothing, if these Arabic texts had been rightly used. In a book by a German Arabist, and printed by Hinrichs of Leipzig, a sound grammatical knowledge of Arabic may be expected and is almost always found. Here it is different. In his translations from the Qur'ān Dr. Pautz is generally safe; for that there are many and tolerably trustworthy guides. But here are some cases where that help has failed him. On p. 36, in explaining the phrase *rūḥ al-quḍus*, he quotes Bayḍāwī, I, p. 527, ll. 15 sq., and translates: "Er meint Gabriel. Die Verbindung des Geistes mit der Heiligkeit bedeutet die Reinheit, wie man sagt 'der wohlwollende Richter.' Ibn Kathīr liest *rūḥu l-ḥudsi* mit Erleichterung." What Bayḍāwī says is this: "He means Gabriel. And *ar-rūḥ* being put in the construct relationship to *al-quḍus*, that is *cleanness*, is like their saying 'the Ḥatīm of generosity.' Ibn Kathīr read *rūḥ al-quḍus* with softening." What ideas Dr. Pautz connected with *Erleichterung* I do not know; nor do I know why he quoted the sentence containing it. Further, I do not know why he felt it advisable to cite in a footnote the Syriac ܠܗܘܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ. It is part of a parade of Syriac and Ethiopic quotations which runs throughout the book. Again, on p. 57, in speaking of the vague pronominal references in the Qur'ān he cites (ii, 91) *fa'innahu nazzalahu* and quotes al-Bayḍāwī (I, p. 74, ll. 28 sq.) thereupon. Then he translates Bayḍāwī as follows: "Das erste Pronomen bezieht sich auf Gabriel, das zweite auf den Ḳorān. Die Bezeichnung desselben (des Ḳorān) durch das Pronomen ohne Erwähnung weist auf die Hoheit seines Wesens hin, wie wenn es zu dessen Verdeutlichung dient. Es ist stärker als seine deutliche Bezeichnung. Es bedarf nicht des Voraufgehens seiner Erwähnung." The first part of this is tolerably correct. Bayḍāwī goes on: "The expressing it by means of a pronoun without explicit mention indicates the greatness of its station, as though, on account of its being clearly evident and of the prevalence of its celebrity, it had no need that explicit mention of it should precede." Dr. Pautz should for a time beware of unpointed texts; Fleischer puts great reliance on his reader's knowledge of Arabic. Again, on pp. 78 sq. he quotes Bayḍāwī, I, p. 347, ll. 16-18, and renders *bī'jāzihi*, "in seinem Ausdruck;" it should be "in its sublimity" or "in its persuasiveness." Again, on p. 112, under the influence of a dogmatic prepossession, he renders Qur'ān, lxxx, 16, *ma akfarahu*, "Was hat ihn zum Unglauben bewogen?" It is a common idiom and should be rendered: "How unbelieving" or "ungrateful he is!" On

p. 165 he compares Qur'ān, ii, 256, with Ps. 121:4, and the roots *وسن* and *نام* with the Hebrew roots *ישן* and *נרם*. But he translates *نام* and *נרם* alike as "schlummern" and *ישן* and *وسن* as "schlafen," not noticing that the meanings cross and that *نام* is used in Arabic of sound sleep, as is *ישן* in Hebrew, and *وسن* of light slumber, as is *נרם* in Hebrew. On p. 278 he translates the proverb *Tafarraqu' aydī Sabā* (he reads wrongly *Sabā'i*), "Zerstreut ist die Macht der Sabāer." Of course it means, "They separated like the paths of Sabā" (see *Lisān*, I, p. 87, ll. 4 sqq. from below; Lane, pp. 1287a and 1303b, and Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, pp. 497 sq.). On p. 145 we are told that "Muhammedaner" as a name for Muslims "ist von den Occidentalen gebildet." That is not so; Dr. Pautz will find it in later Arabic writers. On p. 69 we are told in a note of two lines and a half that *Iblis* is not from *δαίβολος*, but is the If'īl form of the root BLS. That is rather too cavalier a way of settling such a question; if Dr. Pautz will read a few pages in al-Jawāliqī's *Mu'arrab*, he will probably come to think differently of Muslim etymologies.

These are some specimens of the scholarship of the book. But it would be very possible for a man of scanty Arabic to write well and fruitfully on the theology of the Qur'ān, and I turn now to Dr. Pautz' matter. My first criticism is that the title is much too narrow; we have here an attempt at a Qur'ānic theology and not at the Qur'ānic doctrine of revelation. The plan of the book is as follows: First comes a short introduction to enlist our sympathies in Muḥammad and in Dr. Pautz' subject—I will only note a very uncritical use of tradition on pp. 3-4. Then the first chapter on "Muḥammeds Prophetenbewusstsein" is divided into three sections, a historical account of the first revelations, a description of the different ways in which they came to him, and a consideration of Muḥammad's relationship to the contemporary soothsayers and poets. This last head is a subject of great interest, and since it was opened up recently by Goldziher in his *Arabische Philologie*, where he shows the close relationship of Muḥammad to the *Kāhins* with their *saj'* utterances, is worthy of very careful and detailed examination. But such an examination does not fall to it from Dr. Pautz; his reading is much too scanty for him to pursue the investigation far enough. He does not even (p. 42) recognize the true nature of *saj'*, but regards it as being simply a literary form—poetry without meter. This leads him to a lengthy consideration of the style of the Qur'ān, which I conceive he admires both too much and on false grounds. The challenge of Muḥammad, several times repeated, to his contemporaries to produce anything like the Qur'ān is misunderstood. Muḥammad's generation, with such a poet in it as Labīd, would have had little difficulty in meeting the challenge, if it had been on literary grounds. What its real nature was Nöldeke long ago explained in his *Geschichte des Qorans*, pp. 43 sq. Again, Dr. Pautz finds in common Arabic idioms beauties of Muḥammad's

literary style. He cites such expressions as يغشى السدرة ما يغشى, يغشى الليلهم الالاعنون, قَتَلَ for تَتَنَزَّلُ, the precativ perfect as قَتَلَ, and many more (pp. 55 *sqq.*). About fifteen pages are devoted to this question of style, and it may be pertinently asked what style has to do with a doctrine of revelation. The second chapter deals with the "Wesen der Offenbarung" and also divides into three sections. In the first he describes Muḥammad's idea of a revelation and of the object which it must serve. Here he gives an excellent and full study of the different expressions in the Qur'ān used to indicate this revelation on its different sides. The second section considers the universality of the revelation. Into this section is dragged, very much by the head and shoulders, a discussion of the question whether Muḥammad was a predestinarian or not. Here we find Dr. Pautz' original contribution—a contribution too original to be sound. By a process of reasoning which would make Calvin himself an Arminian, these terrific texts, "God leadeth astray whom He will and guideth aright whom He will," "If We had willed, We would have given every soul its guidance," "Not a soul can believe except by the permission of God," "These are those whose heart, hearing, and sight God has sealed (*ṭaba'a*)," and the many other passages in which *ṭaba'a* is used,—such texts are explained away, and Muḥammad, the Semitic prophet, turns a school-divine of Pelagian complexion. The third section considers Muḥammad's attitude to earlier revelations; how he connected his mission with those of the prophets of Judaism and with Jesus; how he found his coming foretold in Scripture, and how he treated the Jews. The question which is above all of interest, whether the influence upon him was Jewish or Christian, is not touched. The third chapter considers the content of the revelation and also divides into three sections. (Is this systematic division into threes a trinitarian protest on the part of Dr. Pautz, as the Spanish monks drank in three sips?) The first section deals with the idea of God, and, while it is not specially philosophical or clear in its theological development, it has excellent lists of terms and their occurrences; that is always Dr. Pautz' strong point. The second section is on the relation to Arab heathenism and Christian dogmatics, and the third section deals with eschatology. The fourth chapter bears the title "Die Träger der Offenbarung," and is also divided into three sections. The first of these is headed "Das Prophetentum" and, after a little preliminary matter devoted to the expressions for prophet, inspiration, etc., is really an account of the different stories about the former prophets told by Muḥammad and an inquiry as to his sources for these. Thus room is found in it for the question as to Muḥammad's reading and writing. The second section is on Muḥammad's attitude toward miracles, and the third on his historical theory of the punishment of peoples for the rejection of prophets sent to them. Such is this method of dealing with Muḥammad's "Lehre von der Offenbarung." Accepting it as an examination of the theology of the Qur'ān, it is, for me, artificially and cumbrously arranged, and Dr. Pautz himself

seems to have had difficulty in bringing into it the points which he wished to discuss. Last comes a short "Schluss," in which we have the inevitable comparison between Christianity and Islam and the inevitable reference to "Seine Majestät." This "Schluss" is valuable in a way the writer did not intend; it gives us a view of his mental attitudes and methods, and enables us to understand how he could have written so much and so laboriously with so little solid result. When we find the opinions expressed that polygamy "mit der Frage nach der Moral überhaupt nichts zu schaffen hat, braucht wohl kaum bemerkt zu werden;" that "die zurückgezogene Lebensweise der Muhammedanerinnen" is to be more highly approved than that of women with us; that there is much to be said for the institution of the veil; that the "gegenwärtige Frauenfrage" cannot be solved "durch die modernen Emancipationsbestrebungen mit Gründung von Mädchengymnasien, der bei uns bis jetzt glücklicherweise noch vergeblich angestrebten Zulassung der weiblichen Jugend zum Universitätsstudium, und was dergleichen Thorheiten mehr sind," we can see for ourselves what Dr. Pautz' chances have been of an open mind and a sound critical judgment. More it is not necessary to add; the quotations speak for themselves.

The book has four indices: of transcribed Arabic words, of quotations from the Qur'ān, the Old Testament, and the New. An index of subjects would have been of great value as a guide through the labyrinth of Dr. Pautz' arrangement.

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SACHAU ON THE MOHAMMEDAN LEGAL SYSTEM.¹

The scramble for colonies has brought several Christian powers into possession of Mohammedan countries. The question of legal administration which immediately confronts the rulers is a perplexing one. The Moslem subject recognizes no law except the sacred law, derived from the Koran, and systematized by many generations of legal scholars. That this system does not contemplate the coexistence of different religions *on equal terms* is well known. Mohammed himself reduced Christians and Jews to the condition of tributaries, and his successors were quick to carry out this part of his legislation. For this reason subjects of Christian powers living in Mohammedan countries have always insisted on being exempt from trial by Moslem law and have retained their own tribunals.

In theory the Mohammedan cannot tolerate a Christian government over him. The unbeliever is either a tributary or an enemy against whom he is to make war. In practice superior force may be recognized, and the convenient hypothesis is formulated that God has allowed his people to be made subject to those of a different faith for a period such as his

¹ MUHAMMEDANISCHES RECHT NACH SCHAFFITISCHER LEHRE. Von Eduard Sachau. (Lehrbücher des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Band XVII.) Stuttgart und Berlin: W. Spemann, 1897. xxxii + 880 pp., and 28 pp. Arabic text; large 8vo. M. 24.

good pleasure may determine. The unsatisfactory nature of such acquiescence is evident, and it is natural for European governments, in ruling over adherents of Islam, to seek to satisfy them, so far as may be, by administering the law already familiar to their subjects. The anxiety of the native jurists to see this done was indicated by the question raised at Khartum by one of them on the occasion of the proclamation of British and Egyptian sovereignty.

The history of the British occupation of India shows a series of attempts to administer Mohammedan law in Mohammedan communities. The Germans are prompt to take knowledge of this precedent with reference to their east African possessions. For the present handbook is designed especially for the use of colonial officials who have to do with Mohammedan litigation. Of the four orthodox systems that of Shafi'i is the one recognized most widely in east Africa, as it is in Egypt. Professor Sachau therefore gives us in the original text one of the brief compendiums of law such as the orientals like to commit to heart. He also gives it in German translation, with abundant explanations, mostly taken from the commentary of Baguri—a jurist of the present century. The introduction gives a sketch of the attempts to administer Mohammedan law in lands under Christian control. It contains, also, an outline of the life of Shafi'i, with a brief list of juristic works of his school. The author compares the Moslem civilization of today to the Sleeping Beauty who is to be awakened by the kiss of European culture. Whether the fair lady does not find the salutation a somewhat rough one he does not inquire. That the administration of Mohammedan law, as a whole, is impossible to a European government is made evident by this very treatise. For the author omits from his discussion the sections on purifications, prayer, fasting, taxation, the sacred war, pilgrimage, hunting, clean and unclean food, sacrifices, the lot, oaths and vows. But according to Moslem conceptions all these are parts of the civil law, and it is doubtful whether any administration which neglects them will command the approval of the Moslem conscience. This is adduced simply to show the difficulty of the task which confronts the administrator of a Mohammedan colony.

What is prescribed by the Koran and by the Traditions is right—this is the morality of Islam. The treatise before us develops its paragraphs in strictly logical form, not merely giving the statutory prohibitions, but defining what the law permits. The first book is devoted to marriage, a subject on which the ruling power most naturally leaves the native law in force as long as possible. It is a strange world into which this discussion introduces us: “A free man may have four wives at the same time, a slave may have two.” “Divorce is effective when a man says, *I have divorced thee*, or other words to the same effect, or when he implies this.”

Casuistry forms a large part of such a treatise. Some of the instances are curious. By the Koran, foster-brotherhood is a bar to marriage. If now a man has a mature wife and is at the same time betrothed to a

young girl, and the latter drinks of the milk of the wife, the betrothal is *ipso facto* dissolved, and the wife must make good to her husband the marriage gift which he is obliged to pay. The reason for the dissolution of the marriage is that the young girl has become the woman's daughter, whom, of course, the husband of the woman cannot marry. As the damaging act is probably the fault of the older woman, she is held to blame.

In the space proper to a review it is impossible to give even a summary of the system here set forth. Some points may be cited at random.

"The grown son must earn his bread, unless afflicted with disease or madness. An exception to this is the son who studies theology and law. If a trade would prevent his study, his parents must support him."

"It is commendable, though not imperative, that the slave receive the same food and clothing as his master."

"When an animal is to be killed, this must be done without cruelty."

Next to the treatment of marriage the treatment of slavery claims our attention. And here we notice that Mohammed encouraged emancipation, declaring it a meritorious act which delivers from the fire. Curiously enough the only slaves that cannot be set free are those who have been presented to a mosque or pious foundation. The benevolent intent of the law is evident in some regulations, as the one which provides that if a man sets free the hand of his slave, or any fraction of him, the whole slave becomes free. It is doubtful, however, whether the regulation is of much practical value. The text-book is concerned with cases that may conceivably arise, and some of these are discussed *in thesi*. So perhaps the following: If a father presents his son with a share in a slave and afterward the father sets his share free, the whole slave is free, and the father is not obliged to compensate the son for his share. It may be well to remark here that a slave may be the joint property of two or more masters.

The way in which the law emphasizes difference of religious profession comes frequently to the surface. Thus a Moslem can be patron of a Christian freedman, and a Christian can be patron of a Moslem freedman. But the Moslem patron inherits the property of the freedman in certain cases, while the Christian can in no case be the heir of a Moslem. A slave may contract to earn his freedom in a stipulated way, but he must be free from the suspicion of spending his wages on unlawful things, such as *the repair of a church*. An apostate from Islam, that is, a convert to Christianity, is, of course, an outlaw. The law allows him no rights and gives him no protection.

One of the most important and one of the most complicated sections of Mohammedan law is that which concerns inheritance. The enactments of the Koran are anything but systematic, Mohammed's interest being to define certain cases which came under his notice. For these cases he gave specific directions, which, of course, have always been binding. But the cases which called for adjudication were those of the

more remote relatives. The result has been to make the share of the more remote relatives better assured than the share of the direct heirs. "In the present system it may happen that these more distant heirs receive their share, while the son receives nothing—a result which is certainly quite contrary to Mohammed's own intention" (p. 198). Another result of the Koran regulations is that a testament can dispose of only one-third of an estate.

A legacy (even by a Christian or a Jew) for the building or conservation of a church or synagogue, or for making a copy of the Old or New Testament or *books of philosophy*, is void. This would seem to be one of the regulations which a Christian government cannot in conscience enforce. Yet its non-enforcement will stimulate the fanaticism of the Moslem lawyers. The same difficulty will doubtless arise in enforcing contracts made by dealers in pork or wine, or other objects which are unclean to Moslem law.

The many elaborate regulations concerning buying and selling are doubtless intended to secure honest dealing. Mohammed had keen sympathy with the poor—whom he had, no doubt, often seen overreached by their merchant neighbors. Hence he tried to prohibit the taking of interest, contracts for future delivery, and anything in the nature of speculation. The object of negotiation must be present and visible to both parties, or at least a sample of it in case it is bulky like a lot of grain. Usury is one of the things most strictly prohibited. Doubtless Mohammed's personal prejudice was in line with what he knew of the Jewish law. Nevertheless the law is violated by various devices, as is the case with other laws in restraint of trade. Some of the regulations here given are trivial, others positively hurtful, and it would go against the conscience of a European government to enforce them even between Moslems.

The difficulties of the situation are made evident further by the qualifications required of a judge. He must be a Moslem, of good repute, acquainted with the Koran and the Traditions, acquainted with the consensus of the authorities and with their variations from each other, acquainted with casuistry, with Arabic grammar, and with the exegesis of the Koran. Rules for his behavior are given, among which we find one against his receiving presents from the people of his district. We are reminded that the Old Testament finds it necessary frequently to denounce bribery. Witnesses before a Moslem court must be Moslems and of good repute; the latter phrase is defined to include orthodoxy of belief. It is curious that in worldly causes women are admitted as witnesses; in cases which are defined as religious, women are not eligible. How European governments can command loyalty for their decisions when, according to Moslem law, the legal decisions of non-Moslems are void because of their origination, does not appear. Doubtless a *modus vivendi* can be found, but the difficulties are great.

I have noticed a few points out of a great many. The volume will doubtless be valuable, not only to German judges in the colonies, but to

many readers who wish to get some view of the Mohammedan legal system. The printing seems to be correct, and a good index facilitates the use of the work.

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ARBEELY'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.¹

This is a most interesting little book. It is primarily intended to enable Arabic speakers to learn English, and seems, so far as I can judge, a fairly effective means to that end. Much attention is paid to pronunciation, and quite an elaborate system of diacritical signs is used. The peculiarities of English grammar are carefully examined from an Arabic point of view. This part of the book will be found of value even by the English-speaking student of Arabic; it will give him insight into the grammatical workings of the Arabic brain. About 70 pages follow, dealing with letter-writing and giving many forms of correspondence, commercial and otherwise, bills, notes, receipts, etc. Without doubt a student of the written Arabic of modern life will find much here to assist him. But Dr. Arbeely has planned to kill two birds with his stone. He has prefixed about 40 pages by which the English speaker is to learn Arabic. The idea, of course, is absurd, and the pages contain nothing but an explanation of the Arabic alphabet, some reading lessons and lists of phrases, the transliterated pronunciation of these last varying curiously between modern and classical usage. Thus in some places the terminal vowels are suppressed, while in others we have the full nunation.

But the part of most value and interest to us is in pp. 477-608. There we find a very full list of technical words arranged in groups. It is unfortunate that this seems to have been arranged and adapted for the Arabic reader only. A very little modification and addition would have much increased its value for us. Thus, no vowels are added to the Arabic words, and these are the barest equivalents. Often we have only a transliteration of the English term, and it would then be of use to us to know if such words were really in use in modern Arabic. This parsimony of explanation becomes absolutely exasperating in the last two sections, the first of which deals with games and exercises, while the second gives a list of proverbs. For example, we want to know about "the game of the roosting cat or perching pussy;" it sounds most attractive. The games of "the hopping mother," "the lamed devil," and "the tied monkey" are only less alluring. With skilful treatment this bald list might easily be expanded into a delightful paper. Equally interesting are the five pages of popular proverbs. Dr. Arbeely has evidently taken common Syrian proverbs and explained them with English ones of a similar drift. Often the literal meaning is quite different. "You cannot hold two watermelons in one hand" is rendered

¹ AL-BAKOORAT AL-GHARBAYAT FEE TALEEM AL-LUGHAT AL-ENGLEZYYAT. The First Occidental Fruit for the Teaching of the English (and Arabic) Languages. By A. J. Arbeely, M.D. Published by *The Oriental Publishing House*, 25 Pearl street, New York. 40+630 pp. \$2.75.

by "He that hunts two hares will catch neither," and "Talk of the wolf and get ready a stick for him," by "Talk of the devil and his horns appear."

Finally, whatever be our opinion as to the possibility of learning Arabic from this little manual, there can be no doubt that the advanced student will find it most entertaining and useful. The printing is not very careful, but the binding, green cloth stamped in gold on back and side with the Arabic title in an ornamental hand, is most effective.

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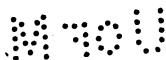
BEHÂ ED-DÎN'S THE LIFE OF SALADIN.¹

This book forms the thirteenth and last volume of the library of the "Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society." The reasons for its existence at all are not clear, and still less clear are the grounds for its inclusion in that library. Certainly Saladin was not a Palestine pilgrim in the sense of this series, nor is this biography of him valuable as a contribution to the topography of the country. Regarded as a contribution to the study of the history of the crusades the book is equally valueless; it cannot even be recommended to the mere English reader who wishes to know something about the life of Saladin.

In its Arabic form the biography is an excellent one. Bahâ ad-Dîn did his work well, with a simplicity of phrase and wealth of detail rare in Islâm. During the last years of Saladin's life he was in close personal intercourse with him and had opportunities, of which he made full use, to study his character and learn accurately about him. All that is reflected in his book; it is full of the touches of an eyewitness. Thus he was present at the fatal battle of Arsûf and accompanied Saladin in his retreat. He describes how he stood beside him, trying to comfort him and urging him to eat. It is true that he is a partisan and passes lightly over things which were not quite to his subject's credit or in which he was not successful;—the Froude-Carlyle biography was still unwritten.

The Arabic text was published by Schultens at Leyden with a Latin translation; a French translation forms part of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Auteurs arabes*, Vol. III, pp. 1-393. The English version which we have here is a translation from that French version "carefully revised and compared with the edition of Schultens by Lieutenant-Colonel Conder." As a translation of a translation it is necessarily very free, and in many places it appears as though the French version had been made from a text differing in some degree from that of Schultens.

¹ THE LIFE OF SALADIN. By Behâ ed-Dîn (1137-1193 A. D.). Compared with the Original Arabic and annotated by C. R. Conder. Preface and Notes by Charles Wilson. Published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 24 Hanover square, London, 1897. Edition imported by the New Amsterdam Book Company, 156 Fifth avenue, New York; 5 King street, Toronto, Canada. xx + 420 pp.; 8vo. \$3.50.



Thus the form of the title, "What befell Sultan Yūsuf" (pp. 1 and 3), I have been unable to verify elsewhere. In Schultens' text (p. 2) the title is, *An-nawādir as-sultāniya wal-maḥāsin al-yūsufiyya*; Ibn Khallikān (Vol. IV, p. 433, of de Slane's version) calls it simply *Kitāb sira Salāḥ ad-Dīn*. Further on p. 1 there is benediction on Muḥammad "and on his family;" *wa'alā 'ālihi* is lacking in Schultens' text. But besides such apparent differences of reading, there are many errors, some of which seem to be due to the English translator, while others may go back to the French. *La sharika lahu* (Schultens, p. 1) is not "there is none like him," but "he has no partner;" similarly "polytheists" below should be at most "syntheists." On the same page, *tashfā-l-qulūb min laẓā-l-'uwām* is not "heals souls perishing with thirst for the truth," but "frees souls (or hearts) from smoking (or thirsty) *Laẓā*;" *Laẓā* is one of the names for hell or, according to al-Baghawī, the part of hell set apart for Christians. On p. 119 is a very curious error which seems to go back to a misunderstanding of the French version. There the *Mi'rāj* is called "an event which is foreshadowed in the glorious Kurān (Sura xvii, 1)." This expression evidently gave difficulty—as it well might—for there is a footnote to the following effect: "The Kurān says nothing of the legend of Muhammad's translation from Mecca to Jerusalem. The passage cited speaks of the prophet's going to the 'distant sanctuary' (*El-Haram el-Aksa*). The whole tradition of the night journey and the ascent from the Sakhra to heaven is late, and Behā ed-Dīn says only that it is 'foreshadowed' in the allusion cited." Who is responsible for this note I am not certain; to judge from the statement in the introduction (p. 17), it is Lieutenant-Colonel Conder. However that may be, it is simple nonsense. No Muslim writer would make such a distinction between the *Isrā* and the *Mi'rāj* as seems to be thought of here. Further, what Bahā ad-Dīn really says is, "the night of the *Mi'rāj* concerning which there is a clear statement (*al-manṣūṣ 'alayhā*) in the glorious Qur'ān." For *naṣṣ 'alayhi* see Lane, p. 2797c. On p. 10 there is another extraordinary note, in which the annotator has gone out of his way to confuse the Mu'attilites, who were materialists and atheists, with the Mu'tazilites,² who were only heretical in some of their views. On p. 310 there is a footnote to Bahā ad-Dīn's story of the proposed marriage between al-Mālik al-'Ādil and Johanna of Naples, that "the English chroniclers say nothing of this extraordinary proposal." That is strictly true, but it conveys the impression that this story rests on no European evidence, which is not true. It is to be found in *L'estoire d'Eracles*, 198D; see Goergens u. Röhrich, *Arabische Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 284. If the translator and editors had known their "Talisman" well, they would have found the same thing in a note to chap. xiv. In chap. cxlv Bahā ad-Dīn tells of the assassination of the marquis of Montferrat. Naturally he does not say that some ascribed it to Saladin. In the footnote on p. 333 that should have been added from Ibn al-Athīr. Generally, Bahā

²[See on this sect Professor Macdonald's article "The Faith of al-Islām," *AJSL.*, Vol. XII, pp. 93-117; especially pp. 104-9.—THE EDITOR.]

ad-Dīn's account of Saladin's dealing with the Assassins could be much expanded and corrected.

It would be easy to accumulate further examples of errors and omissions. *Al-murūwa* is not "politeness," as translated on p. 38, and *ḍaraba 'unqahu biyadihi* in its context can only mean "he beheaded him with his own hand;" the story on p. 115 is a bit of self-contradiction of Bahā ad-Dīn's. But that is enough.

The book is illustrated with five maps and plans and with genealogical tables of the Ayyūbids. There is an index of eleven pages.

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GREEK AND LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN TALMUD, MIDRASH. AND TARGUM.¹

The book before us must be welcomed by everyone interested in the philology of the early post-biblical literature of the Jewish people, as the first attempt at systematizing the linguistic evolution of the Greek and Latin admixtures in the diction of those vast volumes in which is deposited unexplored archæological material enough to occupy students for several generations.

Single monographs treating directly or indirectly of these foreign elements in the writings of the talmudic ages have appeared within the last fifty years in large numbers. To those cited in our author's preface must be added the name of Dr. Joseph Perles, whose *Etymologische Studien* and numerous articles in magazines are among the most valuable contributions to that branch of learning, and it seems strange that one so well-read as our author should have overlooked an authority of no mean importance. But *habent sua fata libelli*.

If Herr Krauss had confined himself to words of indisputable foreign origin in post-biblical Jewish literature, his work would have been much shorter—and this to no disadvantage to the reader—and surely his own task might have been easier. It would have been a safe guide in this vast labyrinth, and a standard authority for further studies along those lines. The author's rules for the transliteration, the result of diligent study of the Greek and Latin literatures, of great familiarity with the Jewish writings under consideration and their literature, and of the results of general phonetic researches of most recent date, are in most cases unexceptionable, and it may well be said that Krauss' book will be, as far as it goes, a standard work for that branch of philology for some time to come. For, to judge from the experience of the past, it can scarcely be expected that another and better work will soon replace it. This being the case, it is the more to be regretted that our author has

¹ GRIECHISCHE UND LATEINISCHE LEHNWÖRTER IN TALMUD, MIDRASCH UND TARGUM. Von Samuel Krauss. Mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw. Preisgekrönte Lösung der Lates'schen Preisfrage. Teil I. Berlin, N. W. 6: S. Calvary & Co., 1898. xli + 347 pp.; 8vo. M. 12.



not emancipated himself from the wrong methods of most of his predecessors in that line, methods long ago discarded in all other linguistic researches.

Every scholar in our days knows how dangerous it is to judge by phonetic resemblances—so tempting to amateurs—in establishing a relationship between the vocabularies of different languages, especially if they belong to different tribes. Dean Swift's raillery at the philology of his days can hardly be appreciated in our generation, because philology has changed its basis entirely from phonetical to etymological, I might say physiological, principles. To bring English *cover* into connection with Hebrew *kever* (קבר), as early editions of Webster's have done, would cover its author with ridicule. A peculiar relic, by the way, of this old method may still be found in Webster's *Dictionary*, where *gonoph* (meant for Hebrew *gannav*) is explained as "a corruption of *gone off*, a slang word for 'thief' or 'amateur pickpocket.'"

Only in luckless Jewish literature it would seem as if the old phonetical method were to be continued and even systematized; as if what heretofore has been looked down upon as a jargon setting under contribution all possible and impossible languages and dialects, and mutilating its unlawful acquisitions beyond recognition, were now to be raised to the dignity of a language that no longer steals, but borrows. We are safe in saying that 25 per cent. of the "loan-words" treated by our author are of good Semitic stock, and all the phonological deductions therefrom fall to the ground.

Leaving out of consideration stems concerning the origin of which scholars disagree, and perhaps will disagree for all time, as, *e. g.*, the root זָנַג, with its numerous derivatives and shades of meanings, in its relation to Greek ζυγ-, ζευγ-. and Latin *jug-um*, and foregoing all readaptations from Greek or Latin of originally Semitic vocables, we take up at random from the author's pages words which are treated as loan-words, but which are indisputably Semitic.²

P. 110: "אבולָא *abula*, ξμβολος 'city-gate;' *ambula*, *abbula*, *abula*; *a* for *ε* according to § 119." In other words, אבולָא is derived from Greek ξμβολος. Where Krauss found ξμβολος in the meaning of "city-gate" we are unable to tell. From dictionaries we learn that it means anything pointed so as to be easily thrust in, a "peg, stopper, bar," etc. The only meaning that may come into consideration here is the late Greek usage of ξμβολος for "portico, porch." How different is that from a city-gate! And what will our author say when he sees *abullu* "city-gate," talmudic אבולָא, as early as 1882 in Schrader's *KAT.*², p. 528, and confirmed in Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 6? Scholars may differ as to the etymology of אבולָא (we suggest יבֵל as the root), but of its Semitic home there can be no doubt.

P. 145: "גזום, Hebrew and Aramean, 'to exaggerate,' from גזיבא *ḡagsuma*." Now, *ḡagsuma* does not mean "exaggeration," but "an object

² For the convenience of the readers, I translate the quotations verbatim, instead of citing them in the original.

of adoration," and furthermore גזם does nowhere mean "to exaggerate." גזם (in Piel) means "to cut, to trim," especially "to cut branches off or make incisions in trees to let the sap drip, to tap" (cf. *Aboda Zara*, 50b). Its secondary meaning (as is frequently the case with verbs which in first line mean "to cut") is "to threaten" (cf. *Numeri Rabbah*, s. 14). In Aramean גזם has the same two meanings, "to cut" (cf. *J'rushalmi Orlah*, III, 63a) and "to threaten" (cf. Targum to Proverbs 16:30, corresponding to Hebr. קרץ). In a transferred sense גזם, like Hebr. קרץ in connection with טפתים, has the meaning of "to cut or trim words, make phrases," and גזמא means "a rhetorical phrase, a hyperbolic expression."

P. 144: "ארבל, Aramean 'to sift,' from ארבבל 'sieve' (cribellum)." Should the Aramean not have a word of its own for such a simple process as sifting? And how did it happen that cribellum traveled from Rome to Palestine and lost its *k* sound on the road? On the other hand, the root ארב (and ערב) has the meaning of weaving, and ארבבל or ערבבל (an enlargement of ארב or ערב) means "network," or "sieve," from which the verb ארבבל "to sift," alongside of ערבבל "to mix up, to confound," and ערבלאן "a mixed multitude," agreeably to the two meanings of ארב or ערב.

One more specimen of our author's method may be here cited. P. 151: "בלס, Hebrew, 'to be overcrowded,' from βλύσσω = βλύζω = βλύω 'to overflow.' Kal partic. sing. בלוס, f. בלוסה, plur. m. בלוסים. בלוסין." The form βλύσσω is found nowhere; βλύζω means "to gush forth, bubble" (not "to overflow"). By what process could this meaning give rise to a usage like עיסה בלוסה (*Sabb.*, 76b) "dough of unsifted flour" (containing bran, etc.)? or אוצר בלוס (*Bab. Bathra*, 58a) "a storeroom of mixed things, lumber room," or by metaphor (*Gittin*, 67b) "a mind stocked with all kinds of knowledge"? or כלים בלוסין (*Mikva'oth*, IX, 5) "utensils soaked with a mixture of colors," i. e., showing stains from use, opposed to נקיים "shining, polished"? On the other hand, take בלם as a Semitic root, as an enlargement of בל, in בלל "to mix," and all the applications in the quoted passages are clear and plain, and also the Syriac בלס "trituvit" is easily accounted for.

It is, to be sure, an unpleasant task to criticise a book on which much painstaking labor has been bestowed by a writer of vast information and no mean abilities, but the truth has to be told, were it only in order to warn the uninitiated against too confident reliance on a misleading guide.

Perhaps these remarks may also serve as an appeal to the author to revise, before its publication, the second part of his work, which promises to be a complete dictionary of Greek and Latin loan-words in the talmudic literature.³

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³ Since the above was written, our author's dictionary has appeared, as we see from talogues.

JASTROW'S ḤAYYŪĠ, THE WEAK AND GEMINATIVE VERBS IN HEBREW.¹

The much-abused epithet "epoch-making" may be applied with strict propriety to the little treatises of Ḥayyūj on the Hebrew verbs containing weak consonants and on verbs whose second and third radical consonants are alike. His discovery that every Hebrew root normally consists of three consonants, and his acute explanation of the many apparent exceptions to this law by reference to the changes which the weak consonants undergo and to the contraction of repeated consonants, opened the way to a rational development of Hebrew grammar and lexicography. How revolutionary this theory was may best be seen by comparing Ḥayyūj's treatment of the weak verbs with that of his teacher, Menaḥem ben Sarūq, whose principle was that only those consonants in any word are radical which never disappear in the course of derivation or inflection. In Menaḥem's Lexicon, consequently, many roots of two, and even of one, consonant appear;² words which have no etymological connection are thus brought together, and derivatives of the same root separated. Under the root כ, for example, Menaḥem includes הִכִּיתָ, הִכָּה, הִכָּה, הִכָּה (Hiphil of נָכַה), and the adverb כָּה, while the adjective נָכַה appears in its alphabetical place. Much more serious was the confusion which pervaded the whole field of inflection and gave rise to such monstrous misformations as Ḥayyūj animadverts upon in the first pages of his book on the Weak Verbs. Some modern scholars dispute the soundness of the theory of triliteral roots, maintaining that the so-called כָּי, עָי, and צָי are historically monosyllabic stems. But if this should be established, it would not detract from the merit of Ḥayyūj; for the analogy of dissyllabic roots has worked so extensively in these classes of words, not only in the massoretic text but in the living language itself, that the way he took was the only one which the empirical grammarian could take, and the only way in which scientific grammar could make its first step.

In the introduction to his book on the Weak Verbs Ḥayyūj discusses lucidly and with penetrating insight many points in Hebrew grammar and orthography: letters with and without vowels, the vowels, the pronunciation of the reduced vowel (שְׁבִי), the weak consonants (אָי and, at the end of words, הָ), and the use of these letters as the indices of long vowels, the allowed omission of these indices in writing, assimilation and crasis, the double pronunciation of the stopped consonants (בִּגְדִּי כִפְתִּי), interchange of אָי and אֵי in speech and in writing. To the section on verbs beginning with א is prefixed a classification of the simple and derived stems which was original with Ḥayyūj, and remarks on the irregularities

¹ THE WEAK AND GEMINATIVE VERBS IN HEBREW. By Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn Dāwūd of Fez, known as Ḥayyūġ. The Arabic text now published for the first time, by Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages at the University of Pennsylvania. Leyden: E. J. Brill's Successors, 1897. lxxxv + 271 pp.; 8vo.

² This feature of Menaḥem's system was rejected before Ḥayyūj by Menaḥem's severe critic, Dūnash b. Labrāṭ.

of the נָע verbs; and at the beginning of the section on the נָע the peculiarities of this class, especially in Niphal and Hiphil, are discussed. Similarly the second chapter, on verbs with a weak middle radical, opens with a full and clear explanation of the formation of the several tenses and stems; and the third chapter treats in the same way the verbs with a weak third radical, those which have both their first and third radicals weak, and those whose first radical is נָ and the last weak. A corresponding introduction is prefixed to the book on verbs whose second and third consonants are alike. Besides these more formal and extended discussions, many acute grammatical observations are scattered through the articles on particular roots. It would have added greatly to the value of the edition if Professor Jastrow had furnished it with a grammatical index.

The treatises before us are of interest in another way. The express testimony of Parhōn,³ abundantly corroborated by internal evidence, proves that Ḥayyūj was led to his theory and equipped for the task of developing and applying it by a study of Arabic grammar. The terminology which he employed was in the main that of the Arab grammarians.⁴ Through translations of the works of Ḥayyūj and his successors this terminology established itself in the use of Jewish grammarians who wrote in Hebrew; from them, in Latin rendering often absurdly literal,⁵ it passed over to the Christian Hebraists of the sixteenth century; and thence into the modern languages of Europe. The outlandish jargon which is still used in our Hebrew grammars to describe the simplest orthographic or phonetic phenomena, with its "shewa mobile" and its "quiescent" letters—a jargon which seems to have contracted some of the inviolability of the sacred tongue, so that few are bold enough to discard it—is, at the end of this long migration, the technical terminology of the Arab philologists as applied by Ḥayyūj to Hebrew.

Ḥayyūj was fortunate in his great successor, Abulwalid, who in numerous writings defended the new system, supplemented the deficiencies of his predecessor's works, and corrected their mistakes. It was largely through his efforts that the theory of triliteral roots prevailed and Hebrew philology was put on a solid foundation.

The treatises of Ḥayyūj on verbs with weak and doubled letters were early translated into Hebrew, first, near the end of the eleventh century, by Moses b. Jiqatilla, and somewhat later (*ca.* 1140) by Abraham b. Ezra. Ibn Ezra's translation was published by Leopold Dukes in 1844, from a manuscript in Munich. The editor assures us that he has printed the text of the manuscript with a fidelity so scrupulous as to respect even its palpable errors. Errors—not all chargeable to the scribe—are certainly numerous enough, and there are some considerable lacunæ. The

³ Lexicon, s. v. פָּרָה, ed. Stern, 1844, fol. 54d. See also Abulwalid, quoted by Peritz, *ZATW.*, Vol. XIII. p. 170, note 1 (= *Luma'*, ed. Dereubourg, p. 8, ll. 2 *seqq.*), with special reference to the resemblances between Arabic and Hebrew in the weak roots.

⁴ See W. Bacher, *Die grammatische Terminologie des Jehūdā b. Dāwīd . . . Ḥayyūj*, 1882. Bacher has there investigated also the use of these terms by Jewish scholars before Ḥayyūj.

⁵ See for illustration the Latin translation of De Balmis' מִקְוֵה אֲבִירִים, Venice, 1523.

translation is such as might be expected of an independent scholar like Ibn Ezra—faithful, but not bound to the letter, terse in style, and more consistent in terminology than that of his predecessor. Ibn Jiqatilla, whose version was edited by J. W. Nutt in 1870 from two manuscripts in the Bodleian, is much more diffuse; the author evidently feels constantly the difficulty, which he describes in the preface, of conveying the meaning of Ḥayyūj's Arabic technical terms in a language in which there was no established equivalent for them, and tries to overcome it by varied and alternative renderings and by explanatory glosses. But, beside this, there are large additions of a more material kind, in part from the hand of the translator, in part probably later interpolations.⁶

An edition of the Arabic original, the want of which has long been felt—not the less since the publication of the minor grammatical writings of Abulwalid, almost all of which are directly connected with the works of Ḥayyūj—has for several years been expected from Professor Jastrow, and is now before us. In the preface a succinct account is given of Ḥayyūj's life and works, and a description of the materials available for this edition and the way in which they have been used. The text is based upon two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The older (B), dated 1210 A. D., is said to be defective, having many gaps in the two treatises, but a more precise definition of these lacunæ is nowhere given. The younger but better of the two codices (A) was written in 1316. Besides these a fragment of eight leaves in the Royal Library in Berlin (C),⁷ beginning on p. 169, last line, of Jastrow's edition, and extending to p. 179, l. 5;⁸ and a larger fragment of eighteen leaves in the British Museum (D),⁹ begins on p. 22, l. 2 from the bottom, of the published text, and breaks off on p. 37, l. 1; then after a long gap begins again on p. 139, l. 5, and goes to 149, l. 13.¹⁰ In addition to the manuscripts of Ḥayyūj, the many and often extensive quotations in the works of Abulwalid, especially in the *Mustalḥiq* and in the *Risālat al-taqrīb wal-tashīl*, the latter of which is in the form of a commentary on the book on Weak Verbs, are of exceptional importance. He was a younger contemporary and disciple of Ḥayyūj;¹¹ he had critically compared numerous copies of the master's writings, notes peculiar readings, and brands some widely current corruptions.¹² His testimony,

⁶ See on this point the authors cited by Jastrow, Preface, p. viii, note 3, where for XIII. p. 76. read 176; for XV, pp. 132-7, read 133.

⁷ Edited by Peritz, *ZATW.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 169 *seqq.*

⁸ This is not indicated in the edition.

⁹ Described by Jastrow, *Proceedings American Oriental Society*, October, 1888 (= *JAOS.* Vol. XIV), pp. xxxviii-xl.

¹⁰ The editor leaves the reader to ascertain this also from the note in *PAOS.*, where the limits of the two fragments of D are defined by comparison with the translations of Ibn Ezra and Ibn Jiqatilla (on p. xl, ll. 1 *seq.*, for p. 13, 16, read 13, l. 20).

¹¹ Whether he had had the personal instruction of Ḥayyūj is uncertain.

¹² See, e. g., *Mustalḥiq*, pp. 146, 158 (with the former compare the reading of F in Jastrow's apparatus, p. lxvi); *Risālat al-taqrīb*, p. 273. The last passage is interesting because the corruption proves that the oldest manuscripts of Ḥayyūj were written in Hebrew characters.

therefore, where we can take it, is of very great weight. The Hebrew translations, finally, were made from manuscripts of the eleventh or twelfth century, and that of Ibn Ezra particularly is sometimes an important witness.

Professor Jastrow has constructed his text primarily upon the two Oxford manuscripts, A and B. In the very numerous differences between them in the quotations from the Old Testament he has uniformly given the preference to the manuscript containing the more copious illustrations (p. xx), most frequently A.¹³ Of these variations no note is made. Of other variants, he has not thought it necessary to indicate any but really essential ones (p. xxi). The critical annotation is, in fact, very meager; in the first twenty-one pages no difference of reading is recorded, and in the whole book on Weak Verbs there is on the average one variant to two pages of text; C is cited four times, D not at all, Abulwalid (for a reading) once. A rapid comparison of the printed text with the passages commented on in Abulwalid's *Al-taqrib* shows that there are in the latter many variations of at least equal importance with those which have found a place in the editor's critical notes.

After the text was printed, Professor Jastrow received from Dr. Kokowzoff collations of two defective manuscripts in St. Petersburg (E, F), which to a considerable extent complement each other and contain most of the two treatises. The more complete of these (F) has also decidedly the better text, and presents some coincidences with Abulwalid which might repay closer examination. Besides these, the St. Petersburg library possesses a number—twenty-five at least—of smaller fragments of different manuscripts, which Dr. Kokowzoff also collated.¹⁴ Professor Jastrow has appended a delectus of these collations to his edition (Introduction, pp. xxxi-lxxxv). With them he has included the corrections which a final comparison of the printed text with the English manuscripts showed to be necessary, and a few readings from Abulwalid. This supplementary apparatus is much fuller than the critical notes beneath the text. On pp. 1-20, on which no various reading is noted in the latter, F alone is cited in the appendix over a hundred times. Thus the anomalous condition exists that we are much better acquainted with the materials which were not used in the constitution of the text than with the sources on which it is based. It is to be regretted that, since this supplement became necessary, the editor did not include in it a corresponding selection of readings from the material which he had himself collected.

It must also be noted as a defect in the critical apparatus that there is no indication, either in the text or introduction, of the places in the writings of Abulwalid where passages from Ḥayyūj are quoted. The alphabetical arrangement of the *Mustalḥiq* renders this less necessary

¹³ The soundness of this as a critical principle is questionable. Whether it is warranted in the particular case by the character of B we have no means of judging.

¹⁴ Jastrow, Preface, pp. xxiii sqq.

for that work, but for the *Risālat al-taqrib*, and still more for the quotations scattered through the other writings of Abulwalid, a system of references such as Derenbourg in his edition of Abulwalid's *Opuscles* has given to the treatises of Ḥayyūj would have been very useful.

A few minor observations may be added. Upon what authority is the name דָּאָוִד (Dā'ūd) transliterated on the title-page and elsewhere Dāwud? In the text, p. 8, דָּוִדִּיבֵר וַיִּשְׁבֵּר, the doubling of *yōd* is erroneous; p. 167, l. 4 from the bottom, the reference (1 Kings 21:15) is omitted. In the Preface, p. xvii, l. 8, read Deut. 14:1; p. xix, ll. 5, 16, for Seleucidian read Seleucidan; p. ix, for "*Ibn Khayyuj*" Sayce might plead the example of Bacher, who has had to confess the same sin. The printing of the volume seems in general to be very correct.

By this edition of Ḥayyūj Professor Jastrow has laid all students of Hebrew grammar under obligation, and I wish for my own part thus to convey to him my thanks and my congratulations.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

ANDOVER, MASS.,
December 1, 1898.

BLAU ON ANCIENT JEWISH MAGIC.¹

The well-known scholar presents us here with an exhaustive study of Jewish magic during the first five centuries of the Christian era. A glance at the table of contents will show the wealth of material contained therein. It is the following: Preface, "The Spread of Magic among the Jews." The latter is subdivided into: spread of magic in biblical times, in talmudic times, persons that used it, the sources of Jewish magic. "Aims and Effects of Magic." This is subdivided into: harmful and beneficial magic. "Magic Agencies." This is subdivided into: the human word, amulets, their contents, two Græco-Jewish magic formulæ, mystical names of God, influence and warding off of magical beliefs, the evil eye, things of magical power and charms, etymological superstition.

A few linguistic remarks may accompany this notice. On p. 67, note 3, the author speaks of יָמִימִיָּא in the sense of "days" as an "*Uniform*." This is not so. The plural of יָמִימִיָּא occurs in Var. Lect. B. M. 28a. On the same page, note 5, he doubts the correctness of Raši's explanation of דָּבִי or דָּוִי as "be strong." This explanation is undoubtedly correct. The verb דָּבִי is Assyrian *danānu* "be strong." Since neither Raši nor his authorities knew Assyrian, this explanation could not be the result of etymologizing, but represents good tradition. The enigmatic שִׁיָּא, Sabb. 67a, with which the author does not know what to do (p. 76), is שִׁיָּא = שִׁיָּיִת, participle of שָׁחַח, used with the force of an imperative. The 'Arūkh has for this form the precative perfect שָׁחַח. The difficult

¹ DAS ALTJÜDISCHE ZAUBERWESEN. Von Prof. Dr. Ludwig Blau. (Beilage zum 21. Jahresbericht der Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest.) Budapest; Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1898. viii + 167 pp. M. 4.

passage Pes. 110b, quoted on p. 77, does not become clearer by the sub-joined translation, or, rather, paraphrase. I give here the version of that passage from the Columbia University MS.:

אמר לי רשיהו דנשים כשפניות האי נאן דפגז ביה נשים
כשפניות נימא להי הכא ארי בדיקולי בזי לפומיכי הרשיאתא נשי
קר קדריכי פרח פרחיכי אבדור תבלניכי פרקיה זיקא לבזריקא חדתא
דנקיטתו אדהננכי והנני לא אחא לגו השתא דאתח לגו קדהנני והננכי

Which I would translate: "Said to me the chief of the witches: One that happens to meet witches should say thus: 'Human excrement in baskets full of holes be in your mouths, ye sorceresses! Ye women! may your caldrons grow cold and your crumbs disappear; may your spices be scattered, and may the storm scatter the fresh saffron you hold. As long as (God) was gracious unto you and me, I did not come amongst (you); now that I have come amongst (you), may (God) prosper me and be gracious unto you.'" I take קדה to be equivalent to Hebr. **הצמיח**, "to cause to grow, sprout," hence "to prosper," or, better, as equivalent to **הצליח**, since $\sqrt{\text{צלח}} = \text{קדה}$ "break through." The text quoted by the author I should amend thus: Instead of קדהנני I would read as here: קדהנני, and instead of קרה קרחיכי I would read: קדה קדריכי. The latter can be translated in two ways: either "may your hair be torn out;" cf. **מִיָּב מְבִטְלָא**; or "may your chamber-pots be full of holes;" cf.

קִדְח. After לגו a genitive **רשיהיכי**, or some like expression, must be understood. The word was omitted on the principle of **אל יפתה אדם** **פה לשטן**. The name of God, or a disguised form of it, may have been also omitted by the rabbis.

This excellent book is to be recommended to all interested in the subject of magic and superstition.

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THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Place of Publication: B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; Kö. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Str. = Strassburg; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

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Months: Ja., F., Mr., Ap., My., Je., Jl., Ag., S., O., N., D.

PERIODICALS.

- A.** = Arena.
AC. = L'association catholique.
ACQ. = American Catholic Quarterly Review.
AER. = American Ecclesiastical Review.
AGPh. = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie.
AJSL. = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AJTh. = American Journal of Theology.
AkkR. = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht.
AMZ. = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift.
ARW. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
BAZ. = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München.
BBK. = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch.
BG. = Beweis des Glaubens.
BS. = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BU. = Bibliothèque universelle.
BW. = Biblical World.
BZ. = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CR. = Contemporary Review.
ChOR. = Charity Organization Review.
ChQR. = Church Quart. Review.
ChR. = Charities Review.
ChRk. = Christliches Kunstblatt.
ChRL. = Christian Literature.
ChRQ. = Christian Quarterly.
ChRW. = Christliche Welt.
D.A. = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche.
DEBL. = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter.
DR. = Deutsche Revue.
DZKR. = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht.
EHR. = English Historical Review.
EKZ. = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung.
EMM. = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin.
ER. = Edinburgh Review.
Et. = Etudes.
ET. = Expository Times.
Exp. = Expositor.
F. = Forum.
FR. = Fortnightly Review.
GPR. = Gymnasialprogramm.
Hh. = Halte was du hast.
HN. = L'humanité nouvelle.
HR. = Homiletic Review.
HSR. = Hartford Sem. Record.
HZ. = Historische Zeitschrift.
IAQR. = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review.
ID. = Inaugural-Dissertation.
IER. = Indian Evang. Review.
IJE. = International Journal of Ethics.
Ind. = Independent.
IThR. = Internat. Theol. Review.
JA. = Journal asiatique.
JBL. = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JM. = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums.
JQR. = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JTVI. = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute.
Kath. = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.
KM. = Kirchl. Monatsschrift.
KT. = Kyrklig Tidskrift.
KZ. = Katechetische Zeitschrift.
LChR. = Lutheran Church Review.
LQ. = Lutheran Quarterly.
LQR. = London Quarterly Review.
M. = Muséon.
MA. = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e.g., Berlin, München.
MCG. = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft.
MGK. = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Knust.
Mi. = Mind.
MIM. = Monatsschrift für innere Mission.
M&N. = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
DP-V. = Monist.
Mo. = Nuova Anthologia.
NA. = Nathanael.
Nath. = Nineteenth Century.
NC. = New Century Review.
NCR. = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift.
NkZ. = New World.
NW. = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
OLZ. = Outlook.
OW. = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement.
PEFQS. = Philosophische Monatshefte.
PhM. = Philosophical Review.
PhR. = Presbyterian Quarterly.
PQ. = Protestant.
Pr. = Protestantische Monatshefte.
PrM. = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PRR. = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology.
PSBA. = Quarterly Review.
QR. = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RAAO. = Revue biblique.
RB. = Revue bénédictine.
Rb. = Reformed Church Review.
RChR. = Revue chrétienne.
RChrS. = Revue de christianisme sociale.
RdM. = Revue des deux Mondes.
REJ. = Revue des études juives.
RHLR. = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.
RHR. = Revue de l'histoire des religions.
RQ. = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte.
RS. = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne.
RTh. = Revue théologique.
RThPh. = Revue de théologie et de philosophie.
RThQR. = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig.
SA. = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. e.g., Berlin, München, etc.
StKr. = Theol. Studien und Kritiken.
StWV. = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.
ThQ. = Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR. = Theologische Rundschau.
ThSt. = Theologische Studien.
ThT. = Theologisch Tijdschrift.
UC. = L'Université catholique.
UPr. = Universitätsprogramm.
VwPh. = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAeg. = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.
ZATW. = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG. = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch.
ZDPV. = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZeRU. = Z. für den evangelischen Religionsunterricht.
ZKG. = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh. = Z. f. kathol. Theologie.
ZMR. = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.
ZPhKr. = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik.
ZprTh. = Z. f. prakt. Theologie.
ZSchw. = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz.
ZThK. = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche.
ZwTh. = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie.

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ADAM AND EVE IN BABYLONIAN LITERATURE.

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I.

Attempts have been made at various times to discover traces of the story of Adam and Eve among the Babylonians. These attempts are interesting chiefly as illustrations, in the domain of science, of the wish being father to the thought. George Smith, in his *Chaldean Account of Genesis*,¹ devoted a few pages to indications of supposed parallels between the biblical account of the fall of man and the contents of an Assyrian tablet, belonging to the so-called creation series. We now know that Smith's interpretation of the tablet was totally erroneous. What he took for an address of a god to the first human pair turns out to be a hymn in praise of Marduk as the conqueror of Tiamat (the symbol of primeval chaos), together with an epilogue in which mankind is enjoined not to forget the tale of the contest of the great Marduk, a god whose "power is irresistible, but who turns in mercy toward those whom he loves."² Smith also called attention to the design on a Babylonian cylinder which consisted of two sitting figures with a tree between them and a serpent behind one of the figures.³ In this representation Smith saw a confirmation of the view which supposed that the Bible story of the

¹ Pp. 87-92.

² Delitzsch's *Weltschöpfungsepos*, pp. 112-14.

³ *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 91.

temptation and fall was familiar to the Babylonians and Assyrians. This evidence, too, has proven fallacious. While we need not go to the length to which Oppert⁴ went, who declared that what Smith and others regarded as a serpent was merely a dividing line in the cylinder, Baudissin⁵ is certainly right in his assertion that the scene may represent a good many other things besides a possible illustration of the famous incident in the third chapter of Genesis. The serpent is an exceedingly common emblem on Babylonian monuments, appearing on boundary stones, as well as on purely religious designs,⁶ and still more common is the representation of a tree, generally some variety of the palm, which appears in nigh endless variations on sculptured slabs and on seal cylinders. It is to be noted that in the cylinder in question each figure has its left hand stretched out toward the palm cones which hang on the tree. This attitude, which suggests some connection between the design and the very common scene of the winged figures, or priests, or kings, standing before a palm tree, should have served as a caution to scholars before instituting a comparison with the famous biblical tale. Yet even so careful a scholar as Friedrich Delitzsch advocated in strong terms a connection between the scene on the cylinder and the narrative in the third chapter of Genesis. This was in 1881.⁷ He probably does not hold the same view now. At all events, Schrader⁸ voices the general opinion of scholars present when he says there is not the slightest reference on the cylinder in question to the fall of man, and it is rather surprising that Zimmern, in his notes to Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, should not have protested against Gunkel's intimation, though tentatively made, that the scene on the cylinder may represent the Babylonian story of paradise.⁹

A few years ago, Sayce¹⁰ made an attempt to prove that the name Adapa occurring in a mythological tale on a cuneiform tablet from El-Amarna should be read Adama, and he accordingly recognized in this Babylonian personage the counterpart

⁴ *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878, No. 34, p. 1070.

⁵ *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, p. 280.

⁶ So, e. g., on the famous Abu Habba tablet (V R. 60). For the serpent on boundary stones see, e. g., III R. 45, V R. 56, etc.

⁷ *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 90-91. He was followed by William Hayes Ward, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 222, and many others.

⁸ *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (Engl. translation), Vol. I, p. 38. See also Menant, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscriptions*, 1880, pp. 270 sq.

⁹ P. 147, note 2.

¹⁰ *Academy*, 1893, No. 1055.

to the biblical Adam. Building, as he so frequently does, upon the slenderest foundations, Sayce elaborated an interpretation of the tale in question that was totally erroneous. The Adapa story in its present form is a nature myth to which a lesson has been attached. It is intended to teach the impossibility for man to attain immortality.¹¹ But, while there is scarcely anything in the tale that warrants the belief that Adapa is the first human being to be created,¹² Sayce's supposition of some resemblance between Adapa and the story of Adam's fall was not altogether unwarranted. The Adapa story furnishes the reason why man was condemned to die, and the third chapter in Genesis does the same. According to Genesis, death is sent as a punishment for man's disobedience of a divine decree; in the Babylonian story, the god and protector of humanity, Ea, deceives Adapa, and thus brings death upon him. Adapa is told by Ea not to eat of the food of life, nor to drink of the water of life, that will be offered him by Anu and his associates. Adapa *obeys* and thus foregoes the chance of securing immortal life. Had he been clever enough to detect Ea's design, which was to prevent Adapa from being immortal, and to disobey, he would have obtained the prerogative of the gods. As it is, Anu and his associates bewail Adapa's fate, but can do nothing for him. The fact that the same problem is introduced into both the Babylonian tales is not without significance, but the different manners in which the problem is put and solved is even more significant. It is not necessary for Adapa himself to stand in any direct connection with Adam to justify the conclusion of some ultimate relationship between the Adapa legend and the story of Adam's loss of immortality. A close study of the legends of Babylonia shows that the custom of using ancient myths and traditions as illustrations of doctrines developed in the Babylonian schools of religious thought was quite common. It is this attachment of morals to the tales, and the adaptation of the tales to the lessons, that forms a bond of union between the literary methods pursued by the Hebrew and by the Babylonian theologians, respectively. Precisely as in the book of Genesis, the creation narrative and the story of the deluge are

¹¹ For a fuller exposition see the writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 544, 555.

¹² The identification of Adapa with Alaparos, who is mentioned by Berosus as the second of the "ten patriarchs," does not decide the question. Zimmern, who follows Scheil and Hommel in accepting this identification, recognizes the weak points in the argument. See his article, "Lebensbrot und Lebenswasser im Babylonischen und in der Bibel" (*Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, II, p. 160, note 1).

introduced as a medium for illustrating certain views held of the deity, of his relationship to mankind, and for impressing certain ethical standards and moral precepts upon the people, so the Babylonian *literati* frequently attach a purpose to the popular tales to which a literary form was given. In both cases these popular tales were used because, being so well known, they could serve as the purpose of illustrations, and in both cases the tales were preserved in literature, simply again because, being popular, they could not be suppressed or set aside. The Babylonian traditions regarding creation are modified upon passing through the hands of the literary priests of Babylon and made to serve the purpose of a glorification of Marduk,¹³ the head of the latter Babylonian pantheon. In the Gilgamesh epic the problems of immortality and of the condition of the dead in the great gathering place, known as Aralû, are introduced in connection with some of the adventures of the hero;¹⁴ and we even find the same tale recounted in variations with different lessons attached. In view of this there may be an agreement between the problem dealt with in some Babylonian tale and one found in a biblical story, without any direct connection between the two stories. The researches of Gunkel, as embodied in his valuable work, *Schöpfung und Chaos*,¹⁵ have made it clear that the meeting point of Hebrew and Babylonian myths and traditions lies much nearer to the earlier contact between the two, before the settlement of Hebræo-Aramaic clans in Palestine, than to the later one. The influence exerted by Babylonia upon the Hebrews during the so-called Babylonian exile was literary rather than religious. Under the stimulus of the literary atmosphere of Babylonia, a definite and, in many cases, a final shape was given to ancient traditions. Tales and myths were interpreted and transformed, but the tales themselves had not only been the property of the Hebrews for many centuries previous, becoming part and parcel of their life, but had passed through various phases of development quite independent of Babylonian influence. We need not, therefore, expect to find *close* parallels between biblical and Babylonian traditions, even when those traditions can be traced to a common source. Indeed, a *close* parallel is an almost certain proof of direct borrowing from one side or the other, whereas in a comparative study of Hebrew and Babylonian traditions the factor of variation is as important as the points of

¹³ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 409.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

¹⁵ See the summary, pp. 147-9 and pp. 163-70.

agreement. Perhaps the strongest objection against seeing, in the seal cylinder above referred to, any reference to the biblical story of the temptation and fall lies in the very fact that, inasmuch as the biblical tale, whatever its origin, bears clear evidence of high antiquity, and of having passed through phases of development distinctly Hebraic, the variations that one would be led to expect between the story and a possible Babylonian counterpart, either in a primitive form or transformed by totally different influences from those to which the Hebrew story was subjected, are not accounted for. The resemblance, it may be said, though in one way superficial, is in another too close to be of any value.

But, since it is clear that the story of creation, the story of the tower of Babel, and the story of the deluge originated in a Babylonian environment, it is but fair to expect that at least some phases of the biblical story of Adam and Eve, or the story in some form, should also be met with in Babylonian literature. The Adapa legend may be regarded as representing such a phase. The food of life and the water of life, instead of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and of the tree of life, are just the kind of variations that we have a right to expect on the assumption of an independent development by the Hebrews and Babylonians, respectively, of an ancient tradition derived from a common source, or once held in common by them.

The attachment of the same story (and of the doctrine conveyed by the tale) to two such different personages as Adapa and Adam finds a ready explanation likewise on the same assumption of independent development. On the other hand, such a common touch in the two tales as the fear of Ea lest Adapa may attain immortality, and the dread of Yahweh-Elohim lest Adam eat also of the tree of life "and live forever," points with convincing force to some ultimate common source for certain features of the two tales. The solution of the problem in the Babylonian version is as characteristic of Babylonian thought, as the biblical solution is in accord with the peculiarities of religious thought among the Hebrews at a certain period in their intellectual and religious life.

II.

There is, however, another phase of the Adam and Eve story to which a Babylonian counterpart exists, but which, so far as I can see, has escaped the attention of scholars. Whatever may be

the judgment regarding the force of the arguments that I shall present for my thesis, the assurance can at least be given that, in this instance, "the wish was not father to the thought," for the Gilgamesh epic, where, as I shall endeavor to show, this counterpart is to be found, is the last place where one would think of looking for any parallel to the biblical tale of Adam and Eve. The Gilgamesh epic is, as I trust I have satisfactorily established in my work on *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*,¹⁶ a composite production in which various tales, originally independent, have been interwoven. The hero of the epic is Gilgamesh, but incidents are introduced into the adventures of Gilgamesh with which originally he had nothing to do, and which formed no part of his career. Gilgamesh becomes a favorite personage, to whom floating traditions were attached, in part by popular fancy and in part by the deliberate efforts of literary compilers. In this epic, faint historical traditions are introduced, but so blended with nature myths that Gilgamesh appears, now as an earthly ruler, and again as a solar deity.¹⁷ That such a personage as Gilgamesh once existed there is every reason to believe. The theory of *creatio ex nihilo* will not suffice for the rise of legendary lore. Next to Gilgamesh, the most prominent figure in the epic is Eabani. He is introduced in the second tablet of the epic, and the manner in which he is brought into association with Gilgamesh reveals at once the original independence of the Eabani episode. Gilgamesh has taken possession of the city of Uruk (or Erech) and probably of the district of which Uruk was the capital. He has played havoc with the inhabitants of Uruk. A hero of irresistible power, he has snatched husbands away from their wives, and has bereft mothers of their virgin daughters. In their distress the inhabitants of Uruk appeal to Aruru, the great mother-goddess. She who has created Gilgamesh is now asked to produce a creature strong enough to take up the fight against him. Aruru, who elsewhere in Babylonian literature appears as the creator of mankind, hears the appeal and fashions Eabani. The manner in which she does this is strikingly like Elohim's creation of the first man. We read:¹⁸

"Aruru upon hearing this forms a man of Anu.

Aruru washes her hands, takes a bit of clay and throws it on the ground. She creates Eabani, a hero, a lofty offspring, the possession of Ninib."

¹⁶ Chap. xxiii. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 470. ¹⁸ Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepes*, pp. 8, 11, 33-5.

Eabani is thus not only formed of the earth like Adam, but is called a man of Anu. Anu is the god of heaven, but the name is often used in the sense of divine, "lofty," so that an "Anu man" forms a kind of parallel to the biblical phrase which declares that man was made "in the image of Elohim."¹⁹ The name Ea-bani signifies "Ea is the creator."²⁰ and Jensen²¹ has pointed out traces of a tradition current in parts of Babylonia which made Ea the "creator of humanity." To a late day, Ea—originally the god of the Persian gulf—is viewed as the protector of mankind *par excellence*, so that it is but natural that he should have been regarded also as the one who produced mankind. In making Eabani the creation of Aruru, the Gilgamesh epic follows another tradition regarding the origin of the human race. There actually exists a version of the creation story in which Aruru appears as the one who created the seed of mankind²² It is true that Marduk is associated with Aruru in this work, but the introduction of Marduk is the work of the theologians of Babylon who could not afford to ignore their patron god. Elsewhere Aruru is described as the mistress of mankind, and, since Ishtar is commonly given this title, it is plausible to assume that Aruru is a form of Ishtar and represents, perhaps, the oldest name of the chief goddess of Uruk, who is generally termed Nanā.²³ In the version of the creation story discovered by George Smith²⁴ it is Marduk who is said to create mankind, and here without any associate, but there are distinct traces in this very version that at an early period in Babylonian history, when Bel of Nippur stood preëminent among the gods, he was regarded as the one who fashioned mankind. Such varying traditions point to the existence of various centers of religious thought, and since religion and political conditions react on one another in ancient Babylonia, the claims made in one place for Ea, in another for Aruru-Ishtar, in a third for Bel, and in a fourth for Marduk, point to political as well as to doctrinal rivalry. One who bears such a name as Eabani might fairly be expected to have been created by Ea. The Gilgamesh epic in naming Aruru as the creator of mankind

¹⁹ בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים (Gen. 1:27).

²⁰ A third element like "of the son" or "offspring" or "man" is perhaps omitted.

²¹ *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 293-4.

²² Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 448.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 449. Nanā signifies merely "the lady."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

betrays the influences at work in giving the composition its final shape. A mixture of traditions has taken place. Eabani survived as a figure from a gray antiquity. Who he originally was we are no longer in a position to say, but he has been used as an appropriate personage to whom to attach traditions that aim to recall the primitive state of the human race. The description given of Eabani in the epic shows at a glance that he belongs to an entirely different period of culture from the one represented by Gilgamesh. He goes about naked. His body is covered with hair. He has long flowing locks, and he lives with the animals about him :

"Eating herbs with gazelles,
Drinking from a trough with cattle,
Sporting with the creatures of the waters."²⁵

This Babylonian "wild man of the woods" is evidently a picture of man living in a savage state, and the description here given accords with the representation of Eabani on seal cylinders.²⁶ The real Eabani is a figure who belongs to the period when popular monsters of hybrid formation, half man, half beast. If not actually the first man, he is certainly a most primitive man. Such a personage has clearly nothing in common with Gilgamesh, who belongs to a different age. The course of the narrative is not affected by the narrative of Eabani's career, which has been deliberately and rather artistically forced into connection with Gilgamesh. Gilgamesh frustrates the plan of the inhabitants of Uruk by sending a messenger known as Šaidu, i. e., "the hunter," and described as a "wicked being," to capture Eabani. We should expect a hero like Gilgamesh to proceed directly against Eabani. The introduction of Šaidu is a further cause for suspecting the original existence of an independent Eabani story. The hunter obeys Gilgamesh, but at sight of Eabani draws back in fear and is unable to catch him. Gilgamesh hereupon instructs Šaidu as follows:²⁷

"Go, hunter mine, and take with thee Ukhat,
When the cattle come to the trough,
Let her tear off her dress and disclose her nakedness,
He will see her and approach her,
His cattle which grew up on his field will forsake him."

²⁵ Haupt, *Nimrodepes*, p. 8, ll. 39-41.

²⁶ See, e. g., Menant, *La glyptique orientale*, pp. 84-91.

²⁷ For the quotations from the Gilgamesh epic I may refer in general to chap. xxiii of my *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.

Ukhat or ukhâte occurs in another passage of the epic²⁸ as one of the classes of sacred prostitutes who acted as a species of priestesses in the cult of Ishtar; and it is plausible to regard those sacred harlots as taking part in the rites which to Herodotus appeared obscene;²⁹ but the ukhat who is to ensnare Eabani has no religious rank whatsoever. The word appears to be used in the epic as a general designation for woman, just as in Arabic *hurmâ*³⁰—identical with Babylonian *kharimtu*—becomes the general word for a woman—a wife or daughter. If Haupt is correct in connecting ukhat with akhu, which means a “net,”³⁰ another analogy would be established between the Babylonian and Arabic terms, for in Hebrew the word *herem* has likewise the sense of “net.”³¹

Eabani falls a victim to Ukhat's attractions:

“Ukhat exposed her breast, revealed her nakedness, took off
her clothing
Unabashed she enticed him.”

The details of the meeting of Eabani and Ukhat are described with a naïveté and frankness that point to the antiquity of the legend. We are told that

“For six days and seven nights Eabani enjoyed the love
of Ukhat.
After he had satiated himself with her charms,
He turned his countenance to his cattle.
The reposing gazelles saw Eabani,
The cattle of the field turned away from him.
Eabani was startled and grew faint,
His limbs grew stiff as his cattle ran off.”

In these lines we must seek for the real meaning and purpose of the incident. Through Ukhat, Eabani is led away from his association with the “cattle” and “creatures of the field.” “Living” with the gazelles and cattle clearly implies³² the satisfaction of the sexual passion through intercourse with them. It is only after Eabani has tasted the charms of Ukhat that he deserts his former associates, or, what amounts to the same thing,

²⁸ In the 6th tablet of Haupt's edition, p. 49, ll. 184-5; also in the Dibbarra legend. See E. T. Harper in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, p. 428.

²⁹ Book I, §§ 181, 182, 190.

³⁰ Delitzsch, *Assyrisches HWB.*, 41a.

³¹ E. g., Ezek. 32:3, etc.

³² As shown by Ukhat's address to Eabani below.

that they desert him. The gazelles and cattle see the change that has come over Eabani and run away. They feel that he no longer belongs to them, and the amazement of Eabani, who but half realizes what has happened, is well portrayed. A new force, a totally different factor, has been introduced into his life, and he is overpowered by his emotions. Held captive by the love of Ukhat, and feeling that she henceforth belongs to him and he to her,

"He again turns in love enthralled at the feet of the harlot,
Looks up into her face and listens as the woman speaks to him :
'Lofty art thou, Eabani, thou wilt be like a god,'³³
Why dost thou lie with the beasts ?
Come, I will take thee to walled Uruk."

In these words there is a very clear indication that Eabani had hitherto satisfied his passions by association with beasts, and no less significant is the implication that Eabani will become the equal of the gods in following and clinging to Ukhat as a worthier companion. But at this point, the connection of the Eabani story with the adventures of Gilgamesh is again moved into the foreground. Ukhat asks Eabani to follow her to "walled Uruk," which she describes as

"The seat of Gilgamesh, perfect in power,
Surpassing men in strength, like a mountain bull."

Eabani yields to her entreaty,

"He was obedient to the word that she spoke to him
In the wisdom of his heart, he recognized a companion."³⁴

In the continuation of Gilgamesh's adventures, Eabani becomes the companion of the hero, but it is evident that the title was originally applied to Ukhat, who becomes the "mate" of Eabani. With the introduction of Uruk the connection between Gilgamesh and Eabani is established, but the Ukhat-Eabani episode also comes to an abrupt end. There is no further mention of Ukhat, and no intimation is given as to the reason for

³³ In my *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 477, I translated, "Lofty art thou like to God," but I am now convinced that the words *kima ili tabaši* must be rendered, "Thou wilt be like a god," as Haupt proposed in a note attached to his *Nimrodepos*, p. 12 (cf. also *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, I, p. 104). Ukhat offers Eabani, as an inducement to abandon his affiliation with animals, that by following her he will become like a god. Interpreted in this way the words form a striking parallel to the biblical words (Gen. 3:5), "ye will be like Elohim," addressed by the serpent to Adam and Eve. The importance of this parallel will be dwelt on in the course of the article.

³⁴ Jeremias (*Nimrodepos*, p. 18) translates "seeks a friend," and refers the words to Gilgamesh, but see my note in *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 478.

her disappearance. This in itself is a feature meriting attention. Eabani and Gilgamesh together proceed upon various adventures, but again it must be noted that these are all such in which Eabani takes no direct part. The two are portrayed as fighting against Humbaba,³⁵ but Gilgamesh alone is celebrated as the victor. In a subsequent part of the epic, Gilgamesh refuses to marry the goddess Ishtar. The latter's father, Anu, creates a divine bull—Alu—to destroy Gilgamesh. Eabani and Gilgamesh in company proceed to dispatch the bull, but in reality Eabani has nothing to do with this episode. The insult offered the goddess by Gilgamesh is no concern of Eabani. Both Eabani and Gilgamesh, however, are punished for killing the bull, the former with death, the latter with a loathsome disease. We seek in vain in the epic for an answer to the obvious question: Why should Eabani receive a more grievous punishment than the real offender? Though Gilgamesh is portrayed as bewailing the loss of Eabani, the hero's career proceeds undisturbed. Eabani's disappearance is as superfluous as his introduction, so far as the adventures of Gilgamesh are concerned. We may conclude, then, that the Ukh-at-Eabani episode is attached to the career of Gilgamesh, just as in the eleventh tablet the strange story of Parnapishtim-Adrakhasis is introduced, though having nothing to do with Gilgamesh. In order to bring the two together, Gilgamesh is described as having encountered Parnapishtim in the course of his wanderings, and, in reply to a question, Parnapishtim tells the marvelous story of his rescue from a disastrous flood.³⁶ Finally, in the last tablet of the epic, in which the problem of the fate of mankind after death is illustrated by Gilgamesh's supposed anxiety to know what has become of Eabani, the latter is once more introduced. Gilgamesh is accorded a sight of Eabani's ghost or shadow,³⁷ and through the latter learns as much, or rather as little, of the sad and joyless condition of those dwelling in the other world as is permitted to be revealed to a mortal. This last tablet, as I have endeavored to show,³⁸ is an addition to the epic of a purely scholastic character, tacked on for the purpose of dealing with a problem that interested the theologians of Babylonia.

³⁵ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 480-82.

³⁶ On the proper interpretation of the Parnapishtim-Adrakhasis narrative see an article of the writer in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. XIII, pp. 288-301.

³⁷ Ekimmu.

³⁸ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 512-14.

Gilgamesh and Eabani are chosen as appropriate personages to serve as illustrations. The story of Gilgamesh really comes to an end in the eleventh tablet, which closes with the return of Gilgamesh to Uruk after a long series of wanderings—partially cured of his disease, but unable to learn the secret of immortal life. The wanderings of Gilgamesh, in the twelfth tablet, in search of Eabani are suggested by the wanderings described in the previous tablets; they are a “duplicate” of these former wanderings. Separating the parts of the Gilgamesh epic in this way, we find two episodes: one, the Eabani-Ukat story, the other, the tale of Parnapishtim-Adrakhasis attached to the adventures of Gilgamesh, though originally having nothing whatsoever to do with the hero. The same process may be observed in other parts of the epic, but these two illustrations suffice to make clear the method of composition in the case of the epic, which is strikingly analogous to the growth of the Arabian romance of Antar, and also has points of resemblance with the method followed in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

Stripped of the connection with the Gilgamesh epic, the Eabani-Ukhat episode reverts to some popular tradition, recalling the separation of man from the early savage state when he lived his life with the animals about him. Among various nations tales recalling such a period are current, and the curious beliefs, so widely spread, which led groups living in a state of primitive culture to predicate their descent from animals, belong to the same order of ideas. It is the woman who, by arousing the sexual instinct (or passion), leads Eabani away from association with the animal world and directs him to the road which leads to civilization. To her Eabani cleaves as a companion, when once he has become enchained by her power. The separation from the animals is coincident with the birth of the sense of the superior dignity of man, and the Babylonian legend properly emphasizes this separation as a first and necessary step before man can assume the position mapped out for one who is to be “like to a god,” created in the image of Anu. The figure of Eabani, or, as we may also put it, the rôle assigned to Eabani, thus turns out to be as close an approach to the “first man” as one can expect to find in Babylonian literature. We are now prepared to approach the question as to the possible connection between the Eabani-Ukhat episode and the biblical story of Adam and Eve.

III.

It is noteworthy that in the biblical tale, according to the Yahwistic narrative, Adam lives in close communication with the animals about him. From Gen. 2:20, where Adam "assigns names" to all the cattle, birds, and beasts, we are permitted to conclude that a conception was once current which placed him, precisely like Eabani, in touch with the animal world. The assigning of a name, in oriental parlance, is much more than a formal act; it implies close relationship to the thing named. Adam does not assign names to the sun, moon, or stars, or to the fish of the sea. Be it noted, also, that his assigning of names to beasts takes place before the creation of Eve. When Eve is created, he assigns a name to her (2:23; 3:20); and since the creation of Eve is followed by sexual intercourse (Gen. 2:24) between the first pair, one gains the impression that the phrase "assigning of names" is nothing but a veiled expression for this intercourse—a euphemism suggested by a more refined age. The expression is only a degree less veiled than the one found in the twenty-fourth verse of this chapter,³⁹ "clinging together and becoming one flesh." Moreover, immediately after the phrase, "and Adam assigned names to all the cattle," etc., we read the strange words, "but for Adam there was not found a helpmate corresponding to him." The connection between these words and the giving of names to animals would be unintelligible unless the act of giving names meant something more than the bare words conveyed. In a recent article touching on this verse, Professor Stade⁴⁰ makes the suggestion that Yahweh's motive for asking Adam to give names to the animals was the hope that he would find a helpmate among them. In the light of the Babylonian tale which pictures Eabani living with animals, Stade's suggestion receives a striking illumination, though requiring the modification just set forth. The verse actually implies association of man with animals; only, that the biblical writer, besides veiling this association under a euphemistic phrase, also indicates Adam's dissatisfaction with the life led by him at the time when he "assigned names" to the animals. Man, according to the Yahwistic narrative, feels the unworthiness of the association even before the woman was

³⁹ Gen. 2:24.

⁴⁰ *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1897, p. 200.

actually brought to him. Such a modification and departure from the Babylonian version is precisely of the kind that we have a right to expect in the form assumed by ancient traditions among a people which passed through a religious development so unique as did the Hebrews. But we may feel certain that, unless the compilers of the Yahwistic narrative had received from some source a tradition which brought Adam into close affiliation with the animals, they would not have embodied so strange an incident as the "assignment of names" to the animal world into their text.⁴¹ The act in itself has no bearings whatsoever on the narrative of creation. It cannot have been intended to account for the fact that the animals have names, for the luminaries, the heavens, and the deep also have names without their being "assigned" by Adam.

There is no reference in the Eabani-Ukhat episode to the actual creation of woman, but another parallel between the Babylonian and the biblical tales, and a most significant one, is furnished by vs. 22 of this same chapter of Genesis. After the creation of the woman we are told "Yahweh-Elohim brought her to Adam." The verb used, *wa-yebhihā*, is the one commonly employed to express sexual union,⁴² and in the Gilgamesh epic a verb is used, *tibu*, when Ukhat offers herself to Eabani,⁴³ which reverts to the same root as the Hebrew *bō*. The form of this verb used in the biblical narrative is the so-called Hiphil, the causative, and we are therefore perfectly justified in rendering "Yahweh-Elohim caused her to come to Adam," i. e., induced her to offer herself to Adam—precisely as Ukhat offers herself to Eabani. At this point it may be proper to call attention to another parallel between the biblical and Babylonian tale. Eabani is described as being entirely naked, while Ukhat, when she comes to Eabani, strips herself of her clothing:

"Unabashed she enticed him."

Similarly we read of Adam and Eve (Gen. 2:25) that they were "naked and unabashed." The variation that in the biblical story

⁴¹ The intercourse with animals was by no means a remote idea in the days of the compilers of the biblical records. The pentateuchal legislation, it will be recalled, felt obliged to provide for such cases, Lev. 20:15, 16; 18:23. The Midrash Rabba to Gen. 2:16 (§ 16) interprets the words *עַל־הָאָדָם* as containing a warning that man should restrict sexual intercourse to his wife, keeping away from intercourse with males or with animals. See also, *ibid.*, § 18 to Gen. 2:24.

⁴² *E. g.*, in the very frequent phrase *וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ* "and he came in unto her."

⁴³ Haupt's edition, p. 11, l. 21.

both are portrayed as "unabashed" is, again, due to the transformation which the original tradition underwent in the course of time.

It has already been pointed out that the meeting of Adam and Eve is followed by the act of sexual contact. This act implied, as we have seen in the closing words of vs. 22, is more explicitly set forth in the closing words of vs. 24,⁴⁵ though still somewhat veiled. In this same verse there is, as I venture to think, a further reference to Adam's abandoning sexual association with animals after obtaining Eve as his mate. As the verse now stands, "therefore man forsakes his father and mother and clings to his wife," there does not appear to be any logical connection either with what precedes or with what follows. Because for man the woman is "bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh" furnishes no good reason why he should abandon his parents, since he is also "bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh." The Hebrew verb translated "forsake" is a strong term, and means much more than merely to take leave of one's parents. It conveys the idea of setting them aside altogether. The social customs of Semitic society do not recognize the married man as a social unit. The latter belongs to a clan as much as he did before he took a partner. His status is not altered by marriage, except that in some forms of Semitic society he becomes a member of his wife's clan, instead of bringing his wife over to his clan. To see in the words of this verse a faint allusion to the matriarchate has not found favor in the eyes of scholars, and properly so, for even assuming that a man's children are reckoned to the mother's clan, this does not involve a desertion of his parents on the part of the man. If, however, we assume the existence of some ancient tradition according to which man, at one time in close association with the animals, abandons the latter upon encountering a mate who is a counterpart of himself, the survival of the phrase "forsake," as well as the new turn given to the tradition, becomes intelligible. It is a characteristic feature of the early chapters of Genesis, as Gunkel has pointed out,⁴⁶ that, despite the late date of their final

⁴⁵ וַיִּדְבֹק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיָה לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד. The rabbis have no hesitation in interpreting these words as referring to sexual intercourse. See Midrash Rabba Genesis to the verse (§ 18).

⁴⁶ *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 6, 7. Gunkel's words are worth quoting in full. In translation they read: "It is a common feature of old tales preserved in the form that they took on in later times, that certain traits which in the earlier connection had a good sense are carried along into the new version, although losing their purport. Such old traits, fragments of a former identity, but without a logical connection in the present state of the narrative, reveal to the investigator the existence and certain traits of an earlier form of the narrative."

reduction, the old phrases that stuck in the popular mind are retained, and other illustrations could be adduced of the manner in which these phrases are made to serve a meaning quite different from their original purport.⁴⁶ The old tradition which made Adam "forsake" the animals after encountering Eve had no meaning to a later age, that had passed far beyond the stage of belief which had given rise to the legend. The reshaping of legends and traditions is the inevitable fate to which they must succumb, if they are to survive the vicissitudes of time and of changed conditions. The same motives that led to the veiling of the affiliation of early man with animals under such a phrase as "assigning names" to cattle, birds, and beasts, led to the substitution of "father and mother" in the tradition which originally conveyed the idea that man "forsook" his animal associates upon finding a mate worthier of him. Adam's clinging to Eve finds a perfect parallel in Eabani's strong attachment to Ukhat — "enthralled at her feet."

The suggestion has already been thrown out that Eabani is not only a type of primitive man, but actually embodies a Babylonian tradition of the "first man." The description of the manner of his creation forms a further justification for comparing him to the biblical Adam.⁴⁷ Like the latter, he is created out of the dust of the ground, and when he dies, we are told in this same Gilgamesh epic,

"he is turned to clay."⁴⁸

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the startling resemblance of Eabani's fate to the one held in store for Adam (Gen. 3:19):

"Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return."

But the parallel between Eabani and Adam raises the important question as to the part taken by Šaidu in the Eabani-Ukhat episode. We have seen that Eabani's transfer to Uruk is due to the desire to connect him with Gilgamesh's adventures. On the other hand, the episode between Eabani and Ukhat could not have ended with a love scene between the two. That Eabani encountered a sad fate may be concluded from a fragment of a

⁴⁶ In a paper on "The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath" (*American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 343-6) I have brought the proof that the words, Gen. 2:2, "and Elohim rested" are such an old phrase which originally had reference to the cessation of Yahweh's anger, and was afterward given the meaning of Yahweh's cessation from the work of creation.

⁴⁷ See above, pp. 198-9.

⁴⁸ Haupt's edition, p. 67, l. 12.

tablet belonging, perhaps, to another version of the Gilgamesh epic than the one known to us,⁴⁹ in which Eabani is introduced as cursing Ukhat whom, together with Šaidu, he holds responsible for having brought death upon him after promising that he would be "like a god," *i. e.*, immortal. He goes so far as to denounce Ukhat's charms, which turned out disastrous to him. Exactly what happened we are not told, or, rather, the fragmentary condition of the tablet in question does not enable us to determine, but it is clear that in some way Ukhat and Šaidu were concerned in Eabani's death. Šaidu, in fact, plays a part which bears a considerable analogy to the rôle of the serpent in the third chapter of Genesis. It is true that in Genesis the serpent does not make its appearance until after the meeting of Adam and Eve, but such a divergence between the two stories is again of a kind that we have a right to expect. The main point of the temptation and fall is that through the serpent and Eve Adam is led to a "knowledge of good and evil," which means not merely an exercise of reasoning powers, but vigorous manhood,⁵⁰ with the departure also that this implies from the customs of savage life. It is, perhaps, of some significance, also, that the rabbinical tradition associates the serpent with the sexual passion.⁵¹ But if the expression "knowledge of good and evil" be accepted as another veiled phrase for the sexual union, a plausible hypothesis suggests itself to account for the introduction of the serpent. The same stem which furnishes us with *Khawwa*—the Hebrew name for Eve—is found in Arabic, and in the Aramaic dialects, as the common name for serpents.⁵² The rabbis themselves introduce a play upon the two names in their comments upon the third chapter of Genesis.⁵³ Is it not possible, therefore, that "the serpent" was originally and in reality merely the woman who, by arousing the sexual passion, leads man to a "knowledge of good and evil"? This suggestion is due to Professor Haupt,⁵⁴ and certainly has much in its favor. Instead of

⁴⁹ See Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, pp. 318-19, and Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 578.

⁵⁰ That such is the force of the phrase follows from Deut. 1:39, where "the sons who know not good and evil" are the minors who have not yet reached the age of puberty.

⁵¹ Midrash Rabba to Genesis, § 20.

⁵² Arabic حية *hayye*; Aramaic ܚܝܬܐ; *i. e.*, *Hewya* or *Hiwya*.

⁵³ Midrash Rabba to Genesis, § 20.

⁵⁴ Proposed by him in the course of a discussion of this paper before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, November 10, 1898.

the serpent, the narrative in its earliest form introduced *Khawwā-Ukhat*, and an abettor of some kind. In the Babylonian tradition this abettor appears under the vague form of "Ṣaidu"—a wicked "hunter." Among the Hebrews this second personage, whose rôle can only be grasped in an uncertain manner, all but disappears, to reappear in the final shape given to the tradition, as a serpent, through a misinterpretation of a term by which in reality the woman was known. Complicated as this process appears to be, students of folklore know only too well the strange antics performed by popular tales in passing from one generation to another. So much, at all events, seems clear, that the story in the third chapter of Genesis is in part a doublet of the one introduced in the closing verses of the second chapter. In the third chapter, the three personages—man, woman, and a tempter—are introduced, just as in the Babylonian tale; and while certain features are omitted which are recounted at the end of the second chapter the tale in the third chapter is amplified by the addition of an episode—partly preserved in the Adapa legend, and partly implied in the fragment, in which Eabani curses Ukhat and Ṣaidu—which told how man, while successful in obtaining "the knowledge of good and evil," failed to secure immortality, although held out to him by *Khawwā-Ukhat*. Eabani is deceived by Ukhat, and Adapa is deceived by Ea. Adam, likewise, is deceived by *Khawwā*, interpreted by a later age as a "serpent," and although "created in the likeness of Elohim," it is this same Elohim who prevents Adam from attaining immortality, that properly belongs to a divine being. This pessimistic spirit which, in both the Babylonian and Hebrew tales, looks upon men's separation from animals in order to be directed into the path of civilization as an evil that eventually brings on death as a punishment, is not uncommon among ancient nations. Culture is not attained without a real or apparent opposition to what appear to be natural laws.

Lastly, attention might be directed to the name Ukhat, which has a surprisingly close resemblance to one of the names assigned by Adam to woman. In Gen. 2:23 he calls her *ish-shā*; in Gen. 3:20, *Khawwā*.⁵⁵ The double tradition indicates the existence of varying forms of the story. I do not, of course,

⁵⁵ Gen. 3:20, "mother of all living," *Khawwā* being connected with *Khay*. The word *Khawwā* is used elsewhere in the Old Testament for the Bedouin encampment, e. g., Numb. 32:41; Deut. 3:14.

mean to connect *Khawwâ* etymologically with Ukhat, but if it be borne in mind that the feminine ending *t* in Ukhat corresponds to the long vowel in *Khawwâ*, that *Khawwat* is therefore equivalent to *Khawwâ* (or Ukhat to Ukha), it is difficult to escape the conclusion that one of the names is *dependent* upon the other. The etymological interpretation proposed for *Khawwâ* in Genesis—*ēm kol hay**—is thoroughly unsatisfactory, and of modern attempts to account for the name, none answers all the necessary conditions. As a reminiscence, however, of an old term, no longer understood and imperfectly preserved in tradition, and then twisted, by a species of folk-etymology, into a form that lent itself more readily to an interpretation that appealed to a later age, the divergence between *Khawwâ* (or *Khawwat*) and Ukhat is not surprising.

IV.

If we now sum up the points of resemblance between the Eabani-Ukhat episode and the biblical story of Adam and Eve, they will, I think, be found sufficient to warrant us in regarding them as of common descent.

1. Eabani, like Adam, is specially created out of the earth. Of both it is said that they turn to earth or clay when they die.

2. Eabani recognizes in Ukhat a companion, precisely as Adam sees in Eve a "mate" worthy of him.

3. Eabani is led away through Ukhat from affiliation with animals and enters into sexual contact with Ukhat; of Adam the same story is related, and though veiled expressions are used, it is clearly implied that Adam, too, like Eabani at one time, "lay with animals."

4. Eabani and Ukhat are naked. Ukhat is "unabashed." Adam and Eve approach each other "naked and unabashed."

5. Through Eve, in conjunction with the "serpent," Adam becomes conscious of his human dignity and power, just as Eabani, through Ukhat and Šāidu, is directed to the path which leads to a higher form of existence.

6. In Genesis the attainment of this higher dignity is regarded as a misfortune, and a sin against divine decrees—for which the punishment is eventually death. Eabani curses Šāidu and Ukhat for having brought death upon him.

7. The dependence of the name *Khawwâ* upon the form Ukhat seems clear.

8. Šāidu plays the part of the tempter to Ukhat, bringing the latter face to face with Eabani, much as the serpent beguiles Eve. Ukhat, acting upon the initiative of Šāidu, offers herself to Eabani,

and, similarly, the narrative at the close of the second chapter of Genesis as well as in the beginning of the third chapter implies that it is Eve who makes the advances to Adam. Both Ukhat and Eve conquer the man by arousing his sexual passion or instinct.

9. Ukhat promises Eabani that he will become divine, and so the serpent, whose rôle is confused with that of *Khawwâ*, or Eve, makes a similar promise. Originally, the promise was made to Adam alone. The alteration of the tradition enlarged it into a promise to both Adam and Eve.

If it be objected that the Babylonian and biblical tales thus interpreted have an element about them which wounds our sensibilities, we must bear in mind that an earlier age regarded such perfectly natural incidents in the life of man as the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, with a naïveté which it is hard for us at the present time to understand. At the same time, the biblical compilers recognized these objectionable features of the story, and skillfully concealed them, to a certain extent, under veiled expressions, or gave certain phases of the story a different turn. In doing this, the compilers did not act altogether in an arbitrary spirit, but were aided by the transformation which early traditions underwent among the Hebrews, to make them conform to the religious and social conditions prevailing at a later period. This transformation, which to a large extent was a popular process, is the factor which accounts for the important divergences of the biblical story of Adam and Eve in its final shape, from the more original and naïve features of the common tradition as preserved in the Eabani-Ukhat episode.

This episode has originally nothing to do with the career of Gilgamesh, but told in connection with the adventures of Babylonia's favorite hero, such portions of it only were introduced into the epic as were needed to associate Eabani with Gilgamesh. That further stories were told of Eabani, and that, in fact, a complete Eabani narrative once existed, are plausible suppositions, though still requiring confirmation.

The biblical and Babylonian tales in question embody some of the traditions belonging to the period when man lived in close association with animals. These traditions were independently developed by the two peoples once holding them in common. The chief variations introduced into the Hebrew form of the tradition may be summarized as follows:

1. Instead of making Adam desert the animals upon encountering Eve, a more refined age substituted the interpretation that man through

his strong love for his wife even sets aside his parents. In the Semitic world, where parental attachment is strong, no more forcible illustration could be given of the power exerted by man's "clinging" to his wife.

2. The emphasis laid upon the love of man for woman leads also to the transfer of the temptation to a separate place in Adam's career, and has further prompted the introduction of the remarkable narrative of the manner in which the woman was created. This narrative, however, belongs to a different series of traditions, as instanced by the distinct and special name—*Ishsha*—given to the one who is taken from the "rib" of the first man. The creation of *Ishsha* has nothing to do with *Khawwā*, who is a distinct figure.

3. The fusion of these two traditions, namely, of *Ishsha* and *Khawwā*, was an important factor in dividing the original Adam-*Khawwā* episode into two sections now represented by (a) Gen. 2:18–20, 22c,⁵⁶ 24–25, and (b) Gen. 2:21–22b, 23; 3:1–19.

4. For our purposes it is needless to enter upon a further analysis of Gen. 3:1–19,⁵⁷ and it is sufficient to note (1) that the serpent is a "doublet" of Eve, introduced through a species of etymological confusion, instead of Šaidu.⁵⁸ In the oldest form of the tradition there was no mention of the serpent. (2) That in the third chapter of Genesis two distinct traditions have been thrown together. The phrase "knowledge of good and evil" being a euphemism like the "assigning of names" in Gen. 2:20, the one tradition was a version or "doublet" of the tale told Gen. 2:19–25, the "temptation" of Adam through *Khawwā*—the woman who leads primitive man away from association with animals, and by arousing a proper sense of human dignity prompts man to take the first step in the direction of a higher culture. To this tale there has been added a second story, though in a measure a continuation of the first, which related how man came to forego the immortality that was promised him and to which he had been told to look forward. He is prevented from eating of the fruit of a tree which contained the power to make him "live forever." This story is embodied in a Babylonian legend attached to a mysterious personage, Adapa,⁵⁹ and also alluded to in a fragment of the Gilgamesh epic. In the book of Genesis it is more logically connected with Adam, but there is every reason to believe that there was once current, among Hebrews, a fuller form of the story how man came to lose immortality, than the one we now have in the third chapter, fused with the other episode.

The divergences thus existing between the Babylonian and the biblical tales in question, and which are as instructive as the

⁵⁶ יִרְבָּאָה אֶל הָאָדָם. The details of the meeting are omitted in this version.

⁵⁷ I propose to do so in a future article.

⁵⁸ The theological and exegetical discussions, so popular at one time, as to the "serpent" being a tempter in human form, appear more reasonable in the light of the Babylonian tradition, where the tempter is actually a human being, and no mention is made of the serpent.

⁵⁹ See, now, Zimmern's suggestive and important article referred to above, in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, II, pp. 165–77.

points of agreement still warrant us, as I venture to think, in calling the Eabani-Ukhat episode a Babylonian counterpart to certain phases of the biblical story of Adam and Eve, a counterpart at once closer and much more significant than the connection between the Adapa legend and that phase of the Adam story, only partially preserved in Genesis, which tells of his failure to secure immortal life.

The divergences between the Eabani-Ukhat episode and the Adam-*Khawwâ* story, be it emphasized once more, are precisely of the kind that we have a right to expect, in view of the conditions under which the old popular traditions and legends of the Hebrews took shape. A similar divergence is found in the case of the biblical story of the creation when compared with the Babylonian parallel, and to a less degree also between the biblical and Babylonian versions of the deluge,⁶⁰ but here, again, as in the case of the two tales that form the subject of this paper, the resemblances are close enough to establish the thesis that the Babylonians and Hebrews had traditions in common regarding the beginning of things, and man's early adventures and method of life, while the divergences show that each nation developed these traditions in its own way, transforming the ancient tales to suit peculiar conditions, and giving them an interpretation in keeping with the religious doctrines that were unfolded through the combined efforts of the popular genius and of the religious guides. A study of the Eabani-Ukhat episode in comparison with the story of Adam and Eve adds, as I believe, further proof of the correctness of this position.

⁶⁰ See the writer's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 450-53 and 500-507.

LIVRE INTITULÉ LAISA
SUR LES EXCEPTIONS DE LA LANGUE ARABE

PAR IBN KHĀLOŪYA, DIT IBN KHĀLAWAIHI

TEXTE ARABE

PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT UNIQUE DU BRITISH MUSEUM

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IV.¹

٧٥ باب ليس في الجمع شيءٌ جُمِعَ على فُعَالٍ إِلَّا فُحَوْ عَشْرَةٌ
احرف عُرَاقٌ جمعُ عَرَقٍ وهو اللحم على العظم وُرُخَالٌ جمع رِخْلٍ
من أولاد الضأن وُرَبَابٌ جمع رَبْيٍ من الشاء اى نَفَسَاءُ يقال شَاءَ
رَبْيً وَبَقَرَةً رَغَوْتُ وَفَرَسٌ نَتَوَجُّ وَنَاقَةٌ عَائِدٌ وَامْرَأَةٌ نَفَسَاءُ وَتَوَامٌ جمع
تَوَّامٍ وَغُلَامَانِ تَوَّامَانِ وَالْجَمْعُ تَوَّامُونَ إِذَا جَمَعْتَهُ جَمْعَ سَلَامَةٍ
وَتَوَامٌ فِي التَّكْسِيرِ وَأَنْشُدْ

قَالَتْ لَنَا وَدَمَعُهَا تَوَامٌ كَالدَّرِ إِذَا أَسْلَمَ النَّظَامُ

على الذين آرتحلوا السلامُ

وَفَرِيرٌ وَفَرَارٌ وَلُدُ الطَّبِيَّةُ وَنَذَلٌ وَنُذَالٌ وَرَذَلٌ وَرُدَالٌ وَقَدْ قِيلَ رَذِيلٌ
وَنَذِيلٌ فِي الرَذَلِ وَالنُّذُلِ وَثَنَاءٌ جَمْعُ ثَنِيٍّ وَالثَّنْيُ فِي الْكَلَامِ ثَلَاثَةٌ
أَشْيَاءٌ أَنْ تُرُخِّدَ الصَّدَقَةُ فِي السَّنَةِ مَرَّتَيْنِ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى لَا ثَنِيَّ

¹ Voyez HEBRAICA, X, pp. 88-105; *AJSL.*, XIV, pp. 81-93; XV, pp. 33-41.

فِي الصَّدَقَةِ وَالثَّنْيُ أَنْ تَلِدَ الشَّاةُ فِي السَّنَةِ مَرَّتَيْنِ وَالثَّنْيُ الثَّانِي
قَالَ الشَّاعِرُ [بسيط]

تَرَى ثِنَانًا إِذَا مَا جَاءَ بَدَّءَهُمْ وَبَدَّءَهُمْ إِنْ اتَّانَا كَانَ ثُنْيَانًا
وَالثَّنْيُ أَيْضًا أَنْ تَلِدَ الْمَرْأَةُ بِكَرْهًا وَالثَّانِي ثُنْيٌ بَعْدَ الْبَكْرِ فَقَدْ
صَارَ أَرْبَعَةَ أَحْرَفٍ وَالْبُسَاطُ جَمْعُ نَاقَةٍ بِسَطٍ إِذَا كَانَتْ غَزِيرَةً
الْبَبْنِ وَأَنْشَدَ [رجز]

خَمْسُونَ بِسَطًا فِي خَلَايَا أَرْبَعٍ

٧٦ بَابٌ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ هَاءُ التَّانِيثِ إِلَّا قَبْلَهَا فَتَحَةً
نَحَرُ شَجَرَةٍ وَبَقَرَةٍ وَقَاتِمَةٍ إِلَّا هَاءُ هَذِهِ وَقَوْلُهُمْ فِي الْحِكَايَةِ إِذَا قَالُوا
رَأَيْتُ أَمْرَاتَيْنِ قُلْتُ مَنْ هَاتَانِ فَإِنْ قَبْلَهَا سَاكِنًا وَكَذَلِكَ فَعَلْتُ
كَيْتُ وَكَيْتَ وَقُلْتُ ذَيْتَ وَذَيْتَ فَمَا قَوْلُهُمْ حَصَاةً وَقَطَاةً وَقَنَاةً
فَإِنَّمَا جَازَ الْإِسْكَانُ قَبْلَهَا لِأَنَّ الْآلِفَ قَبْلَهَا فِي نِيَّةٍ حَرَكَةٍ وَإِنَّمَا
شَدَّ هَاتَانِ وَهَذِهِ

٧٧ بَابٌ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ أَفْعَلُ الرَّجُلُ بِمَعْنَى فَعَلَ غَيْرُهُ
إِلَّا قَوْلُهُمْ أَمَاتَ زَيْدٌ مَاتَ وَلَدُهُ وَأَجْرَبَ الرَّجُلُ جَرَبْتُ ابْنَهُ وَأَمَرْتُ
النَّاقَةَ مَرِيئَتُهَا أَنَا أَيْ حَلَبْتُهَا وَأَقْوَى الرَّجُلُ قَوِيْتُ ابْنَهُ وَأَطْلَبُ
الْمَاءَ أَخْرَجَ إِلَى الطَّلَبِ لِبُعْدِهِ وَمَاءٌ مُطْلَبٌ قَالَ ذُو الرِّمَّةِ [بسيط]
أَصْلَهُ رَاعِيَا كَلْبِيَّةً صَدْرًا عَنْ مُطْلَبٍ وَطَلَى الْأَعْنَاقِ تَضَطَّرِبُ
لِأَنَّ جَمِيعَ كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ إِنَّمَا يَجِبُ أَنْ يُقَالَ فَعَلَ الشَّيْءَ وَأَفْعَلَهُ
غَيْرُهُ مِثْلَ جَلَسَ زَيْدٌ وَأَجْلَسَهُ غَيْرُهُ

٧٨ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسم ولا صفة على فعلى^١ إلا لمؤنث مثل المَرطى^٢ الفرس السريعة^٣ إلا في حرف واحد فانه جاء لمذكر وهو قوله [متقارب]

كأنى ورحدى اذا رُعَتْها على جَمَزى^٤ جازي بالرمال فقال جازي يصف ثورا او حمارا ولم يقل جازية وهي التي تجزى^٥ بالرطب عن الماء وما كان من نحو ذلك وجاز على الثلاثي نحو الحوزي وقرقرى اذا ثنيت^٦ والأجود^٧ عندى ان تحذف الالف لطول الاسم فنقول الحوزلان والجمران ولا تقول الجمران فاذا لم يطل أثبت فقلت الحبليان والبشريان

٧٩ باب ليس في كلام العرب تثنية تشبه الجمع إلا ثلاثة أسماء وانما يفرق بينهما بكسرة وضمة وهن الصنو والقنو والريد المثل التثنية صنوان وقنوان وريدان وهذا نادر ملحق والصنو النحلة تخرج من اصل أخرى^٨ فلذلك قيل العم صنو الاب اى اصلهما واحد قال الكمي^٩ [طويل]

ولن أعزل العباس صنو نبينا وصنوانه فيما أعد وأندب وقال الله تع صنوان وغير صنوان وصنيان وقنوان وقنيان والريد المثل هذه ريد هذه وتربها وأنشد [طويل]

ولما قلبس الأنب ريدها

^١ Ms. فعلى. ^٢ Ms. المَرطى. ^٣ Ms. جَمَزى. ^٤ Ms. أخرى. ^٥ Coran, XIII, ٤.

الْإِتْبَابُ الصَّدْرَةُ وَهُوَ الصِّدَارُ أَيْضًا فَمَا الرِّيدُ بفتح الراء فحرفُ
 الجبل قيل للأعرابي ما حروفه^١ قال رِيوده قيل وما رِيوده قال حِرَفَتُهُ
 جَمْعُ حَرْفِ الجبل حِرَفَةٌ وَجَمْعُ الحرفِ من غيرِ حُرُوفٍ ومثله
 أَنَّ أَعْرَابِيًّا سَأَلَهُ رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ مَا الْمُتَنَزِّفُ قَالَ الْمُتَكَاكِيُّ قَالَ فَمَا
 الْمُتَكَاكِيُّ قَالَ الْحِنْزَقَةُ قَالَ أَنْتَ أَحْمَقُ قَالَ ابْنُ خَالِيهِ وَفِيهِ
 مِنَ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ أَنَّ النونَ تَخْفَى عِنْدَ الْوَاوِ وَلَا تَظْهَرُ وَقَدْ ظَهَرَتْ فِي
 صِنَوَائٍ وَقِنَوَائٍ فَفِيهِ جَوَابَانِ قَالَ أَهْلُ الْبَصْرَةِ أَظْهَرَ وَلَمْ يَدْغِمِ لِثَلَا
 يَلْتَبَسَ فِعْلًا بِفِعَالٍ وَقَالَ أَهْلُ الْكُوفَةِ لَيْسَ سَكُونُ النونِ لَازِمًا
 إِذَا كَانَ يَتَحَرَّكُ فِي صُنْيٍ إِذَا صَغُرَ وَفِي الْجَمْعِ أَصْنََاءُ

٨٠ باب ليس في كلام العرب مثلُ حِلْيَةٍ وَحِلْيٍ وَحُلَى آلا
 ثلاثة احرف لِحْيَةٍ وَلِحْيٍ وَجِرْيَةٍ وَجَزَى فُجِمَعَ بِالْكَسْرِ وَالضَّمِّ هَاوِلَاءُ
 الْاِحْرَفُ الثَّلَاثَةُ وَسَائِرُ الْكَلَامِ يُجْمَعُ عَلَى لَفْظٍ وَاحِدٍ فِرْيَةٍ وَفَرَى
 وَمِرْيَةٍ وَمَرَى

٨١ باب أَجْمَعَ أَهْلُ النَحْوِ أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ لِقْرِيَّةٌ
 وَقَرَى نَظِيرٌ لِأَنَّ مَا كَانَ عَلَى فَعْلَةٍ مِنْ ذَوَاتِ الْوَاوِ وَالْيَاءِ جُمِعَ
 بِالْمَدِّ رَكْوَةٌ وَرَكَاءٌ وَشَكْوَةٌ وَشَكَاءٌ آلا تَعْلَبًا فَانَّهُ زَادَ حَرْفًا آخَرَ
 نَزْوَةٌ وَنَزَى وَهَذَانِ نَادِرَانِ لَا ثَالِثَ لِهَمَا فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ قَالَ
 الْفَرَّاءُ فَمَا قَوْلُهُمْ كَوَّةٌ وَكَوَاءٌ وَكَوَّةٌ وَكَوَّى فَعَلَى لُغَةٍ مِنْ قَالَ كَوَّةٌ كَمَا

^١ Ms. ما حروف.

^٢ Ms. الحروف.

^٣ Ms. البصر.

قِيلَ فِي قُوَّةِ الْحَبْلِ قَوَى وَقَوَى وَقَرَأَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ السُّلَمِيُّ شَدِيدُ
الْقَوَى وَسَاطِرُ النَّاسِ الْقَوَى وَكُلُّ طَاقَةٍ مِنْ طَاقَاتِ الْحَبْلِ وَهِيَ قُوَّةٌ
وَقُوَّةُ الْإِنْسَانِ مِنْهُ فَلَمَّا صَرَفُوا الْفِعْلَ بِنَوْهٍ عَلَى فِعْلٍ لَتَنْقَلِبَ أَحَدِي
الْوَاوِينَ يَاءً وَلَمْ يَقُولُوا قَوَوْتُ وَلَكِنْ قَوَيْتُ

٨٢ باب ليس في كلام العرب مفعولٌ على فُعِلَ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ
وَاحِدٌ رَجُلٌ جَدٌُّ لِلْعَظِيمِ الْجَدِّ وَالْبَحْتِ وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ مَجْدُودٌ مُحْظُوظٌ لَهُ
جَدٌُّ وَحَظٌّ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَفِي دَعَاءِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَهُمْ لَا مَانِعَ
لَهَا أُعْطِيَتْ وَلَا مُعْطَى لَهَا مَنَعَتْ وَلَا يَنْفَعُ ذَا الْجَدِّ مِنْكَ الْجَدُّ أَيْ
مَنْ كَانَ لَهُ حَظٌّ فِي الدُّنْيَا لَمْ يَنْفَعَهُ ذَاكَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ إِنَّمَا يَنْفَعُهُ
الْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ فَالْجَدُُّ لِلرَّجُلِ الْحَظُوظُ وَالْجَدُُّ الْبَشَرُ الْجَيِّدَةُ الْمَوْضِعُ
مِنَ الْكَلَامِ وَالْجَدُُّ جَمْعُ جَمَلٍ أَجَدُّ وَنَاقَةٌ جَدَاءٌ لَا سَنَامَ لَهَا بِمَعْنَى
وَاحِدٍ وَالْجَدُُّ أَبُو الْإِبْنِ وَالْأُمُّ وَالسُّلْطَانُ وَالْعَظِيمَةُ تَعَالَى جَدُّ رَبَّنَا
وَالْقَطْعُ مَصْدَرُ جَدَّ الشَّيْءِ قَطَعَهُ وَالْجَدُُّ بِالْكَسْرِ الْإِنْكَشَاشُ فِي الْأَمْرِ
وَصِدُّ الْهَزْلِ خُذْ فِي الْجَدِّ وَدَعْ الْهَزْلَ وَالْجَدُُّ النُّطْعُ وَالْوَكْفُ
وَشَاطِئُ النَّهْرِ

٨٣ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسمٌ أو صفةٌ على أَفَاعِلَ إِلَّا
أَرْبَعَةٌ أَحْرَفُ أَحَامِرُ جَبَلٌ وَأَجَارِدُ جَبَلٌ وَرَجُلٌ أَبَاتِرُ قَاطِعٌ لِرَحْمَةِ
وَأَدَابِرُ مِثْلُهُ فَاذَا قَالُوا رَجُلٌ مُدْبِرٌ فِي نَفْسِهِ خَسِيسٌ قَالُوا أَدَابِرُ

¹ Coran, LIII, 5.

² Coran, LXXIII, 3.

الْإِتْبَابُ الصَّدْرَةُ وَهُوَ الصِّدَارُ أَيْضًا فَمَا الرَّيْدُ بِفَتْحِ الرَّاءِ فَحَرْفُ
 الْمَجْدَلِ قِيلَ لِأَعْرَابِيٍّ مَا حَرْفُهُ^١ قَالَ رُبُودُهُ قِيلَ وَمَا رِيودُهُ قَالَ حِرْفَتُهُ
 جُمِعَ حَرْفُ الْمَجْدَلِ حِرْفَةً. وَجُمِعَ الْحَرْفُ^٢ مِنْ غَيْرِهِ حُرُوفٌ وَمِثْلُهُ
 أَنَّ أَعْرَابِيًّا سَأَلَهُ رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ مَا الْمُتَارِفُ قَالَ الْمُتَكَكِّيُّ قَالَ فَمَا
 الْمُتَكَكِّيُّ قَالَ الْحِنْزَقَةُ قَالَ أَنْتَ أَحْمَقُ قَالَ ابْنُ خَالِيهِ وَفِيهِ
 مِنَ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ أَنَّ النُّونَ تَخْفَى عِنْدَ الْوَاوِ وَلَا تَظْهَرُ وَقَدْ ظَهَرَتْ فِي
 صِنَوَانٍ وَقِنَوَانٍ فَفِيهِ جَوَابَانِ قَالَ أَهْلُ الْبَصْرَةِ^٣ أَظْهَرَ وَلَمْ يُدْغِمَ لِثَلَاثًا
 يَلْتَبِسُ فِعْلًا بِفِعَالٍ وَقَالَ أَهْلُ الْكُوفَةِ لَيْسَ سَكُونُ النُّونِ لَزِمًا
 إِذَا كَانَ يَتَحَرَّكُ فِي صُنْيٍ إِذَا صَغُرَ وَفِي الْجَمْعِ أَصْنََاءُ

٨٠ باب ليس في كلام العرب مثلُ حَلِيَّةٍ وَحَلَى وَحُلَى آلا
 ثَلَاثَةٌ أَحْرَفُ لِحْيَةٍ وَلِحَى وَجِزِيَّةٌ وَجِزَى فَجُمِعَ بِالْكَسْرِ وَالضَّمِّ هَاوِلَاءُ
 الْأَحْرَفِ الثَّلَاثَةُ وَسَائِرُ الْكَلَامِ يُجْمَعُ عَلَى لَفْظٍ وَاحِدٍ فِرْيَةٍ وَفَرَى
 وَمِرْيَةٍ وَمَرَى

٨١ باب أَجْمَعَ أَهْلُ النُّحُو أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ لِقَرِيَّةٍ
 وَقَرَى نَظِيرٌ لِأَنَّ مَا كَانَ عَلَى فَعْلَةٍ مِنْ ذَوَاتِ الْوَاوِ وَالْيَاءِ جُمِعَ
 بِالْمَدِّ رَكْوَةٌ وَرَكَءٌ وَشَكْوَةٌ وَشَكَءٌ آلا تَعْلَبًا فَإِنَّهُ زَادَ حَرْفًا آخَرَ
 نَزْوَةٌ وَنَزَى وَهَذَانِ نَادِرَانِ لَا ثَالِثَ لِهَمَا فِي كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ قَالَ
 الْفَرَاءُ فَمَا قَوْلُهُمْ كَوَّةٌ وَكَوَاءٌ وَكَوَّةٌ وَكَوَى فَعَلَى لُغَةٍ مِنْ قَالَ كَوَّةٌ كَمَا

^١ Ms. ما حروف.

^٢ Ms. الحروف.

^٣ Ms. البصر.

قِيلَ فِي قُوَّةِ الْحَبْلِ قَوَى وَقَوَى وَقَرَأَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ السُّلَمِيُّ^١ شَدِيدُ
 الْقَوَى وَسَاءَتْ النَّاسُ الْقَوَى وَكُلُّ طَاقَةٍ مِنْ طَاقَاتِ الْحَبْلِ وَهِيَ قُوَّةٌ
 وَقُوَّةُ الْإِنْسَانِ مِنْهُ فَلَمَّا صَرَفُوا الْفِعْلَ بِنَوْهٍ عَلَى فِعْلٍ لَتَنْقَلِبَ أَحَدَى
 الْوَاوَيْنِ يَاءً وَلَمْ يَقُولُوا قَوَوْتُ وَلَكِنْ قَوَيْتُ

٨٢ باب ليس في كلام العرب مفعولٌ على فُعِلَ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ
 وَاحِدٌ رَجُلٌ جَدٌُّ لِلْعَظِيمِ الْجَدِّ وَالْبَحْتِ وَإِنَّمَا هُوَ مَجْدُودٌ مَحْظُوظٌ لَهُ
 جَدٌُّ وَحَظٌّ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَفِي دَعَاءِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَا مَانِعَ
 لِمَا أُعْطِيَ وَلَا مُعْطَى لِمَا مَنَعَتْ وَلَا يَنْفَعُ ذَا الْجَدِّ مِنْكَ الْجَدُُّ أَيِ
 مَنْ كَانَ لَهُ حَظٌّ فِي الدُّنْيَا لَمْ يَنْفَعَهُ ذَاكَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ إِنَّمَا يَنْفَعُهُ
 الْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ فَالْجَدُُّ لِلرَّجُلِ الْمَحْظُوظِ وَالْجَدُُّ الْبَشَرُ الْجَيِّدَةُ الْمَوْضِعِ
 مِنَ الْكَلَامِ وَالْجَدُُّ جَمْعُ جَدَلٍ أَجَدُُّ وَنَاقَةٌ جَدَاءُ لَا سَنَامَ لَهَا بِمَعْنَى
 وَاحِدٍ وَالْجَدُُّ أَبُو الْإِبِ وَالْأُمُّ وَالسُّلْطَانُ وَالْعَظْمَةُ تَعَالَى جَدُّ رَبَّنَا
 وَالْقَطْعُ مُصْدَرُ جَدَّ الشَّيْءِ قَطَعَهُ وَالْجَدُُّ بِالْكَسْرِ الْإِنْكَشَاشُ فِي الْأَمْرِ
 وَضِدُّ الْهَزْلِ خُذْ فِي الْجِدِّ وَدَعْ الْهَزْلَ وَالْجَدُُّ النُّطْعُ وَالْوَكْفُ
 وَشَاطِئُ النَّهْرِ

٨٣ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسمٌ أو صفةٌ على أَفَاعِلَ إِلَّا
 أَرْبَعَةٌ أَحْرَفُ أُحَامِرُ جَبَلٌ وَأُجَارِدُ جَبَلٌ وَرَجُلٌ أُبَاتِرُ قَاطِعٌ لِرَحِمَةٍ
 وَأُدَايِرُ مِثْلُهُ فَإِذَا قَالُوا رَجُلٌ مُدْبِرٌ فِي نَفْسِهِ خَسِيسٌ قَالُوا أَدَايِرُ

^١ Coran, LIII, 5.^٢ Coran, LXXII, 3.

قَاطِعٌ لِرَحْمِهِ وَأَبْتَرُ لَا وَلَدَ لَهُ وَأُبَاتِرُ بَتَرُ أَيَادِيهِ^١ وَحِمَارُ أَبْتَرُ مَقْطُوعُ
الذَنْبِ وَحَيَّةُ أَبْتَرُ مَقْطُوعُ الذَنْبِ وَكَانَ الْعَرَبُ يَسْتَمُونَ مِنْ لَا وَلَدَ
لَهُ أَبْتَرُ وَصُنُبُورًا فَقَالَ الْمُنَافِقُونَ وَكُفَّارُ قُرَيْشٍ ذَلِكَ فِي النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى
وَلَعَنَهُمْ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا صُنُبُورُ أَبْتَرُ لَا وَلَدَ لَهُ فَإِذَا مَاتَ انْقَطَعَ ذِكْرُهُ
فَقَالَ اللَّهُ جَلَّ وَعَزَّ إِنَّ شَانِيكَ هُوَ الْأَبْتَرُ فَمَا أَنْتَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ فَإِنَّ
ذِكْرَكَ مَقْرُونٌ بِذِكْرِي إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ إِذَا قَالَ الْمُؤَدِّنُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
اللَّهُ قَالَ أَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى وَرَفَعْنَا
لَكَ ذِكْرَكَ

٨٤ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسم أو صفة على أَفْعَلٍ إِلَّا
حرفان أَلْنَدَدُ وَالنَّجَجُ وَالْأَلْنَدَدُ الرَّجُلُ الشَّدِيدُ الْخُصُومَةِ وَيُقَالُ
يَلْنَدَدُ بِالْيَاءِ وَرَجُلٌ أَلْدُ وَالنْدَدُ وَجَمْعُ أَلْدُ لَدٌّ قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ
وَتَنْذِرُ بِهِ قَوْمًا لَدًّا وَقَالَ وَهُوَ أَلْدُ الْخِصَامِ وَأَمْرًا لَدَاءً قَالَ
كُثِيرٌ

وَكُونِي عَلَى الْوَاشِينَ لَدَاءً شَعْبَةً كَمَا أَنَا لِلوَاشِي أَلْدُ شَعُوبٌ
وَأَمَّا الْأَلْنَجَجُ فَالْعُودُ الَّذِي يَتَبَخَّرُ بِهِ يَقَالُ أَلْنَجَجُ وَيَلْنَجَجُ وَالنَّجُوجُ^٢
وَالْيَةِ وَاللَّوَةِ وَاللَّوَةِ وَغُودٌ وَرَنْدٌ وَمَنْدَلٌ وَجِجَمٌ وَقَطَرٌ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى
فِي صِفَةِ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ وَجَامِرُهُمُ الْأَلْوَةُ وَكَانَ عَمَّ يَتَبَخَّرُ بِالْأَلْوَةِ مَعَ

^١ Leçon douteuse; ms. اقاديخ.

^٢ Coran, CXIV, 4.

^٣ Coran, II, 200.

^٤ Coran, CVIII, 3.

^٥ Coran, XIX, 97.

^٦ Ms. وانجوج.

الكافور ونظراً أعرابى إلى قبر رسول الله صلعم بعد ما دُفِنَ
فقال [بسيط]

أَلَا دَفَنْتُمْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فِي سَفَطٍ مِنْ الْأُتْرَةِ أَحْوَى^١ مُلْبَسٍ ذَهَبًا
وقال امرؤ القيس [متقارب]

كَأَنَّ الْمُدَامَ وَصَوَّبَ الْغَمَامِ وَرِيحَ الْخُرَامَى وَنَشَرَ الْقَطَرِ
يَعْدُّ بِهِ بَرْدُ أَنْيَابِهَا إِذَا طَرَبَ الطَّائِرُ الْمُسْتَحَرَّ

٨٥ باب ليس في كلام العرب اسمٌ على فَعْلٍ إِلَّا حرف واحد
عَرَّتْنِ نَبَاتٌ وذلك أَنَّهُ لَا يُجْمَعُ أَرْبَعُ مُتَحَرِّكَاتٍ فِي اسْمٍ وَاحِدٍ
اسْتِثْقَالًا حَتَّى يُحْجَزَ بَيْنَ الْمُتَحَرِّكَاتِ بِالسَّكُونِ مِثْلُ جَعْفَرٍ
وَهَذِهِ لَا يَقَالُ جَاءَنِي جَعْفَرٌ وَأَمَّا جَازٌ ذَلِكَ فِي عَرَّتْنِ لِأَنَّهُ
مَحذُوفٌ مِنْ عَرَّتْنِ فَاسْتِثْقَلُوا النُّونَ السَّاكِنَةَ وَكَذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمْ
عُلِيطَ وَجُجِلِطَ وَعُثِلِطَ وَهَدِيدٌ وَعُكَيْسٌ وَدَلِيسٌ وَقِدْرٌ خُرْخِرٌ
وَأَكَلَ الذُّبُّ مِنَ الشَّاءِ الْحُدْلِقَةَ وَدُودِمٌ وَمَاءٌ زَمَزَمٌ كُلُّ ذَلِكَ
الْأَصْلُ فِيهِ فُعَالِلٌ عُلَايِطٌ وَخُرَاخِرٌ فَلَمَّا سَقَطَتِ الْآلِفُ تَخْفِيفًا
اجْتَمَعَتْ أَرْبَعُ حَرَكَاتٍ تَفْسِيرُ هَذِهِ الْحُرُوفِ نَاقَةُ عُلَايِطَةٌ صَخْمَةٌ
وَالْجُلِيطُ اللَّبَنُ الثَّمِينُ وَكَذَلِكَ الْعُثْلِطُ وَالْهَدِيدُ الشَّبْكِرَةُ فِي
الْعَيْنِ وَمِنْ كَلَامِ الْعَرَبِ دَوَاءُ الْهَدِيدِ شَحْمَةٌ ضَبٌّ بِكَبِدٍ وَيَقُولُ
آخَرُونَ أَنَّ الْعُلِيطَ وَالْجُلِيطَ وَالْعُثْلِطَ وَالْهَدِيدَ كُلُّ ذَلِكَ اللَّبَنُ

^١ Ms. أخرى ou اخرى.

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هَيَّتْزَانُ فَعَيَّلَانُ شَمَنْصِيرٌ فَعَنْلِيلٌ دُرْدَاقِسٌ فُعْلَالٌ أَصْرَى فَعَلَى أَصْرَى
 فَعَلَى صَرَى فَعَلَى صَرَى فَعَلَى مَأْكُ مَفْعَلٌ مُنْدَلَفٌ فُنْعَلٌ عِدَى وَقِيمٌ
 فَعَلٌ ذَيْلٌ فَعَلٌ عَشْرَةُ ابْنِيَّةٍ وَمَا ذَكَرَ تِلْقَامَةً وَفِرْنَاسًا وَهُوَ الْأَسَدُ
 وَالْبَهْرَانُ وَهُوَ الْمَتَسِّعُ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَدُخَيْدَجٌ^١ تُقَالُ لِمَنْ أَقْرَبَ بَعْدَ
 جَحْدٍ وَلَيْثٌ عَفْرَبِينَ وَتَرْعَايَةُ وَالصَّنْبَرُ وَخَرَانِفٌ وَهَيْدَكُرٌ وَسَيْدَلُ ابْنِ
 دُرَيْدٍ عَنْ تَفْسِيرِهِ فَقَالَ لَا أَعْرِفُهُ وَلَكِنِّي أَعْرِفُ الْهَيْدَكَوْرَ وَهُوَ
 الشَّابُّ النَّاعِمُ

٨٧ باب ليس في كلام العرب صفة على فَعَالٍ جُمِعَ عَلَى
 فَعَلٍ إِلَّا حَرْفٌ قَالُوا نَاقَةُ خَوَّارٍ وَالْجَمْعُ^٢ خَوْرٌ غِرَارٌ وَرَجُلٌ خَوَّارٌ ضَعِيفٌ
 وَالْجَمْعُ خَوْرٌ^٣

^١ Ms. دُخَيْدَجٌ.

^٢ Ms. والجميع.

A GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.¹

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III. MORPHOLOGY.²

THE NOUN.

§ 781. Under this head are included substantives and adjectives. The difficulties which present themselves to us in the classification of nouns even in Syriac are infinitely augmented in Babylonian Aramaic, both on account of the uncertainty of the vocalization, as well as from the lack of a dictionary answering modern requirements. The classification can, therefore, at best, be only tentative. Still it is hoped that even such a tentative attempt will result in much that is positive; it will clear up many uncertainties, and furnish points for further research in many directions.

§ 782. It has been the author's endeavor in this chapter, as throughout this entire work, to give a complete enumeration of existing forms, as far as such a thing is at present possible. Illustrative examples have been selected with the following points of view: to present such words, where possible,

(1) which, etymologically and morphologically, are more certain;

(2) which illustrate phonetic laws not mentioned in the first part of this work;

(3) which give occasion for etymological remarks;

(4) for which there are examples with *matres lectionis*, so that their form can be established beyond a doubt.

§ 783. Among the many difficulties exhibited by the talmudic noun, one phenomenon is especially marked—the multiplicity of forms of one and the same word. Cf., for instance, סְכֻלָּא, סְכֻלָּא, סְכֻלָּא, סְכֻלָּא, *fool*, VL., B.B. 126b; פִּשְׁרָא, פִּשְׁרָא, *fish*; וְיִמְנָא, וְיִמְנָא, *and he will be*.

¹ See *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 21-78, 118-139, 177-208; Vol. XIV, pp. 17-37, 106-128, 195-208, 252-266.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 50, 118, 177; Vol. XIV, pp. 17, 106, 195, 252.

זְמַנָּא, *time*; גִּידָשָׁא, גִּדָּשָׁא, *heap*; שְׂטָרָא, שְׂטָרָא, *document*; פִּנְאָרִי, פִּנְאָרִי, *variant(s)*; תִּלְתִּין, תִּלְתִּין, *thirty*; אֲחֻזָּא, אֲחֻזָּא, *handle(s)*; אֲנָרָא, אֲנָרָא, אֲנָרָא, *employer*; אִיהָתָא, אִיהָתָא, *sister*; הִימָתָא, הִימָתָא, *mother-in-law*; קִבְיָא, קִבְיָא, *fixing*, and many others. Now, some of these forms are undoubtedly original and legitimate by-forms; as, *e. g.*, the last example cited. Others are, no doubt, reduced forms; as, *e. g.*, אִיהָתָא, Arab. أُخْتُ, and הִימָתָא. Again, others are probably broken plurals; as the forms from which פִּנְאָרִי and גִּרָאִי are derived.¹ Still this does not explain all the phenomena.² A satisfactory explanation is afforded only by the recognition of the fact that forms of the types فُعِل and فُعِل appear not only as קְטוּל, קְטוּל, or קְטַל; קְטִיל, קְטִיל, or קְטַל; and קְטוּלָא, קְטוּלָא, or קְטוּל; but also as קְטַלָא, קְטַלָא; קְטִילָא, קְטִילָא; and קְטוּלָא, קְטוּלָא, קְטוּל, קְטוּל.

§ 784. The present state of our knowledge of Semitic phonetics and nominal formation makes the task of proving such a proposition a hopeless one. I would only limit myself to state that the current belief that Aramaic qāmēç always represents an original *a* does no justice to the facts. In many cases Aramaic qāmēç is, like the Hebrew qāmēç, merely a produced *ā*. The only difference between Aramaic and Hebrew, with regard to the production of *ā* to *ā*, is that in the latter the process is still in full life, while in the former we have only petrified remnants of this process. Everybody will admit that in the Syriac equivalents רִצָּה, רִסָּן, עֲבַר, מִיִּשָּׁה, of the Hebrew חָצַר, חָצַר, חָצַר, qāmēç represents *ā*; but nobody seems willing to do the same in the case of מְהַר, מְהַרָא, מְהַרָא, קְהִילָא, the equivalents of Hebrew מְהַר, מְהַרָא, מְהַרָא, and קְהִילָא.

§ 785. From the above quoted examples of מְהַר, etc., we also learn that qāmēç may stand for a helping vowel. This explains the targumic form מְהַר, the diphthongized form of the Persian gūn. This form is later easily mistaken for *qattal* and explains the Hebrew form מְהַרָא.

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *ZDMG.*, LI, p. 659.

² Cf. also König, *Hebr. Gramm.*, II, 1, pp. 470 *seqq.*, for additional explanations.

§ 786. The recognition that the production of \tilde{a} to \bar{a} is still a more or less living process in Aramaic throws light on the numerous cases mentioned in the preceding pages of this work, where we found unexpected qāmēç, and proves the correctness and reliability, in the majority of cases, of living tradition. I say "in the majority of cases." For I am not blind to the fact that in some cases tradition may be wrong; but the more I have worked in this field, the more my conviction has grown that mere *a priori* theories are worthless in this field, and then the more so when they are in opposition to authenticated tradition, even if that tradition be only oral. I am conscious to be in this regard in opposition to preconceived notions, but doubt not that those who will give the subject an unbiased and earnest investigation will finally come around to my way of looking at it.

§ 787. In the light of the above I want to point out that I do not consider forms like עִבְדָּא , תַּמְיָי , and the like, as false, because the superlinear vocalization of the Targûmîm shows still a long vowel under the second stem-consonant. It is perhaps not superfluous to call attention to the fact that even as near a dialect as Palestinian Aramaic need not in every case agree with our Babylonian Aramaic, and that Babylonian Aramaic continued to live and develop for many centuries after Palestinian Aramaic had died out. Many of the corruptions of the current vocalization of the Targûmîm are probably due to the influence of Babylonian Aramaic, with which the naqdanîm were more familiar.

NOTE.—The limited space at my disposal, as well as the nature of footnotes, have induced me to be concise in my etymological explanations. Sometimes I have limited myself to a mere suggestion. It is, therefore, hoped that students will examine the respective dictionaries before passing judgment on the proposed etymologies.

SUMMARY OF NOMINAL FORMS.

I. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE ONLY.

1. ONE SHORT VOWEL.

قُعْل .—§ 788. To the regular forms given below it must be added that, under the influence of adjacent consonants, *qatl* may pass into *qill* or *qull*; *qill* into *qull* or *qatl*; *qull* into *qitl* (or *qatl*?). Thereby the original vowel may be kept under the first

עַלְמָא, *man*, plur. עַלְמֵי; ¹עַלְמָא *young man*, Sanh. 95a (= Hebr. עַלְמָא, or = עַלְמָא ?); נַחֲמָא, *bread*; קַטְלָא *levity*; אַשְׁחָא *fat*.² Plur.: אַשְׁרֵי, אַשְׁרֵי, *respect, solicitude for one's honor*, אַשְׁרֵי אַשְׁרֵי *our respect*, with helping vowel; אַמְרֵי לֵ-
[ל] אַמְרֵי; ³תּוֹפֵר עַלְ = אַשְׁרֵי לֵ- *entirely*, Assy. gimru.⁴

עַמְלָא, *puqlu and puqlu radish*; מַעְלָא, *fruit of the Theban palm*; מַעְלָא, *bdellium*. Here might belong according to sound and sense מַעְלָא, but the grammatical form points to its being a contraction of מַעְלָא = מַעְלָא. By way of Gegen-sinn: מַעְלָא *be unfruitful*; מַעְלָא *tree not bearing fruit*.

b) Guttural series; עַמְלָא *produce grapes*; עַמְלָא *unripe fruit*; עַמְלָא *a kind of thorn*; חַמְלָא *seed producing leaves, etc., planted field* = חַמְלָא; חַמְלָא *leek*; חַמְלָא *bunch of herbs*; חַמְלָא *high palm*; חַמְלָא *barren*.

Leading over to the sibilant series are אַשְׁחָא, אַשְׁחָא, Eth. 'askal *cluster*; אַשְׁחָא *a certain plant*; אַשְׁחָא, *etc., palm branch with unripe fruit*; all with inserted sibilants (§ 46, note).

c) Sibilant series: Eth. sakala = אַשְׁחָא II.; אַשְׁחָא *cluster*; אַשְׁחָא *cudgel*; אַשְׁחָא = אַשְׁחָא, *young dove*; אַשְׁחָא, *young dove*; אַשְׁחָא, *basket*; אַשְׁחָא = אַשְׁחָא, *inferior kind of date*. By way of Gogensinn: אַשְׁחָא *be bereft of children*.

d) אַשְׁחָא *palm*; אַשְׁחָא *basket made of palm leaves*; אַשְׁחָא = אַשְׁחָא, *date-basket made of palm leaves*; אַשְׁחָא *dried fruit*; אַשְׁחָא *produce verdure, beget children, and derivatives*.

¹ The plur. עַלְמֵי, which occurs but a few times, is probably of Palestinian origin.

² With prothesis: אַשְׁחָא SM. No. CCXX.

³ √רַב is a secondary stem of √רַב found in רַבִּיבִים *rain*; רַבִּיבִים *greasy spot*; רַבִּיבִים *fruit-juice*; Tigrē rūbā *river*; Tña. revrevē *sprinkle with water*. Galla wāraba *draw water*, Amh. wadab *river*, Egypt. warem *inundation*; Bilin wārābā, Chamir wirbā, *river*; Saho rob *rain*, robāb *rainstorm*, robta *raindrop*; Somali rob *river*, warabi *to water*. It is at least not certain that, as Gesenius' *Dict.*, 12th ed., asserts, רַבִּיבִים *be large* is connected with it. The same applies to P. Smith's *Thesaurus Syr.*, where it is connected with רַבִּיבִים *grow*.

⁴ Cf. Samar. אַשְׁחָא *thanks*, Heidenheim's *Bibl. Samarit.*, 5-6, index.

⁵ The form is like Targumic אַשְׁחָא; the plural is frequently used in adverbial and prepositional expressions.—(כַּחַם) = אַשְׁחָא SM. No. XXVIII.

b) לְפָתָא *turnip*; שִׁבַּע *seven* (§ 50, 4); נֶשֶׁחַ, ¹ *dawn*;
פֶּלֶךְ, ¹ *spindle*; רִישָׁא ² *demon*; ³ מַזְמָן = *staff*; plur.

קִשְׁיָי C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.); סֶלַח שְׁלִיחַ.

c) קִירְצָא *vine*; נִיפְנָא.

§ 791. יְחִירָא *assembly*; יֶרֶחָא *rose*; יֶרֶחָא *month*; יִתְרָא, (§ 788).

§ 792. הוֹכָא *laughter* (וְהוֹךְ = הוֹךְ = *עוֹךְ); נִיפְנָא, T. F., Ker. 6a) *stone*; קֶנָּא, קֶנָּא, *small cattle*; פֶּאֶרָא *ribbon*; רִישָׁא, ראשָׁא, *head*.

§ 793. אִפְסָא, אִפְסָא, *face*; גִּזְנָא *treasure*; plur. גִּזְנֵי *at the side of*.

b) עִזָּא *goat*.⁴

§ 794. עִ״ע: Nouns of these stems appear in two forms:
a) regular, with sharpened syllable, and b) with resolution of doubling compensated by long vowel. Forms like מִלְלָא = מִלָּה *live coals* probably go back to longer forms.

a) בִּקְנָא *gnat*; בִּינָא, בִּינָא *inside*; גִּלְלָא, אִיגְלָא, *gate*; יַמָּא *sea*;
סִרָא, טוּרָא, אִיטְרָא, (§ 91) *prince*.—Plur.: חַיֵּי *life*.

b) בִּרָא, בִּרָא, *outside*; בִּרְנָא *wine-jug*, Syr. بَرْنَا, Neo-Syr. بَرْنَا;
אֶנָּא *awn*, VL., Hull. 17b = شَعَاع, on account of its resemblance

¹ The abs. and the constr. states are very rare. But, from the few cases that do occur, the conclusion seems justified that *qatl* gives less frequently a form קָטִיל than the cognate languages. Whether a form like נֶשֶׁחַ is to be pronounced נֶשֶׁחַ or נֶשֶׁחַ cannot be decided by the material at hand. Such forms are therefore left unvocalized.

² Cf. רִישָׁא *demon* in the Hebrew text of Tobit published by Dr. Gaster.

³ عقْد = اجد; خمر, of خم; אנדר is a secondary stem of חמר.

⁴ The word goes back to עִ״ע = עִ״ע with primitive meaning *be rough to the senses*, then *strong* in a physiological as well as psychological sense; from the latter the idea of fruitfulness is derived. Here belong زعر, يعر, وعر, معر, معز, عنز. شعر, عثر, عَرَّ, عَزَّ, عَزَّ = سَعْد = شَجْدَة *light rain*), but not שְׁעִירִים = שַׁעֲרָא (but not שַׁעֲרָא = שַׁעֲרָא, and their equivalents in the cognate languages. Here be specially mentioned the names for goat: עִ״ע = עִ״ע = עִ״ע = עִ״ע, all except the last meaning *shaggy*. On עִ״ע cf. § 980, n. 1. עִ״ע = Assyr. anzû = עִ״ע, and עִ״ע, Assyr. aru, erû, kinds of eagle, on account of their rough plumage. מַעֲזָא, מַעֲזָא, מַעֲזָא, hair, Targ. מעזר.

On interchange of ר and sibilants, cf. جعر, جئر = جئر, بربر = بربر = جعر = جعر, جعر = جعر, سباد = سباد, ربع = ربع, دحر = دحر, جعر = جعر.

last stem-consonant to the second and sharpening of the latter, c) with resolved doubling and consequent compensatory lengthening of first vowel, d) with entire loss of last stem-consonant.

NOTE.—Stems לִי in all cases and לִי when passing into לִי are included under this head.

a) אֲרִיא lion; גִּדִּי, גִּדִּיָּא, kid; טְבִיא deer; טַמְיָא (by-forms טַמְיָא, טַמְיָא), literally, *a being engulfed in, overwhelmed by, a sea (of trouble)*, only in the expression בֵּית טַמְיָא *house of mourning*,¹ קַסְיָא bowl, plur. קַסְיָא.—חֲרִיָּא serpent; סִילְוָא thorn; סִיחָא rainy season, winter.

b) קַרְיָא pumpkin, C. MS. Meg. 4a (voc.), plur. קַרְיָא *ibid.* (voc.).—קִסְא, קִסְא, קִסְא = קִסָּא village. The form קִסָּא is

¹ / טַם (= חם, חן, טון, חל, טל) contains the idea of moisture. Here belong: טַם be full and overflow, טַם sea; טַם = טַם = טַם high sea; טַם swim in open sea; טַם surge, heave, rush (water); טַם uproar of sea; טַם = Assy. ti'amat abyss; טַם (coast-land); טַם rush in mass and with force (water); טַם rushing mass of water; טַם chaos; טַם phlegm; טַם sad; טַם rise, overflow; טַם = טַם dirty water; טַם soil (with liquid); טַם be filled with dirty flux (eye); Tña. tēmmeqe baptize, rain uninterruptedly; טַם waterspout; Alg. Arab. טַם = Assy. ti'amat = Eth. taman = Tña. temen = טַם = dragon (as personification of the sea); טַם = טַם snake; Pal. Syr. טַם = טַם sink, properly be overwhelmed by water, be drowned; טַם = Alg. Arab. טַם taste, properly moisten with saliva; טַם ore spumans; טַם = טַם moisten; טַם = טַם = טַם costly wine (cf. our mountain-dew for whiskey, golden fluid for wine); טַם menstruation; טַם = Alg. Arab. טַם = טַם misfortune (i. e., overwhelming of troubles); טַם = טַם death, burial; Tigrē iateme lose his parents through death; 'atim = orphan; טַם mourning, funeral, assembly of the טַם be wet; טַם name for various liquids; טַם pour out, drip with perspiration; טַם IV. liquefy; טַם moisture; טַם heap of ruins, properly a place ruined by inundation; טַם hill, properly high wave; Kafa tabye mourning. To the same root seems also to belong טַם, Assy. tamū unclean and Assy. tem(m)en(n)u clay-cylinder. The connection of the idea of wetness and of that of sinfulness occurs also in other languages. Cf. Quara hūet wet, sinful.

probably an Aramaic loan-word. But cf. Beḡa, kišo *small village*.

c) קָלָא = قَمَكْلَا = Irob-Saho *kālā clay*; plur. תְּשִׁי *thyme*.—
 אֵינָא *lobe*, by-form עֵינוּיָתָא, עֵנָא, side.

d) בֵּר, בֵּרָא, son; זֵנָא *kind*.

qallat.—§ 797. a) מַלְכָּתָא *queen*; דִּבְרָתָא *booty, capture of cattle*;¹ כֶּסֶף־תָּא, כֶּסֶף־תָּא, *money chest*; רַחֲמֵתָא, רַחֲמֵתָא, *love*.

b) אִנְתָּתָא, אִתְתָּא, *woman*; פְּרַעַתָּא *wound*.

§ 798. עֵ' : a) אַמְתָּא *cubit*;² חַגְלָתָא *pilgrims' fair*; פִּתְתָּא *window*; פִּנְתָּא, אִפְנְתָּא, *vamp, uppers*, فَنَن, Alg. Arab. فَنَّة,

¹ Not pestilence, as in dictionaries; cf. Reifmann, *Beth Talmud*, V, 80.

² This word belongs to a semasiologically very interesting group, starting with the meaning *womb* (no matter what the primitive meaning of the stem might have been), and developing, on the one hand, into that of *woman, mother*, hence into that of *motherly feeling, love, pity, kindness*, etc., or into that of *kindred and progeny*, hence *fruitfulness and plenty*; on the other hand, into that of *receptacle, vessel, measure of capacity*, then of *length*, or into that of *midst, middle, inside*. In the following enumeration some of the links are missing. Mishnic Hebrew אִם, Assy. ummu, *womb*, אִם *mother*, אִמְקָא *people, nation*, Assy. ummānu *people*, ummātu *army*, umāmu *animal*, emāmātu *kinship*, ammamum

a certain vessel, immu *treasure* (= אִמְרָא), אִם, אִמְ, *midst*, אִמְ, *favor*, אִמְ, *cubit*.

The original meaning, *measure of capacity*, is still retained in אִמְתָּא בְּצֵדָא Jer. 51:13: בְּצֵדָא is not measured by the cubit! It is a well-known phenomenon that words retain in certain constructions and phrases a meaning which has otherwise become obsolete.—Assyr. i pu *womb, love*, אִמְקָא *measure of capacity*, Assy. a ptu *dwelling, man*, אִמְקָא *balcony, tuber*, i ptu *abundance*. The idea of *dwelling, balcony*, seems to go back to that of *receptacle*;

while the meanings *man, tuber*, to that of *progeny and fruitfulness*. וִיבֵא = אִב = Vulg.

Arab. أَوْبَة. The relationship between both ideas is, therefore, different from that found in

أَمْرَة. The Egyptian ip, ip, count, is denominative of אִמְקָא *measure*.—אִמְלָא, אִמְלָא.

womb, good will, favor, grace, אִמְרָא *treasury, store*, properly *receptacle*; אִמְרָא is denom-

inative.—בֶּטֶן *womb, belly, midst, inside*, בֶּטֶן *clan, kindred*, בֶּטֶן *terebinth*, Maltese

boton *fruit, produce*, vulg. Arab. بَطْن *distiller's vessel*, Tña. meṭṭen *measure* (with

interchange of labials).—בֶּטֶן *womb*, בֶּטֶן *leather bottle*, جُود the same, *liberality*,

generosity.—בֶּטֶן *womb, measure of capacity and of length*. Whether this word be Semitic

or Iranian, in both it has this double sense.—زُبْرَة *belly, leather bottle*.—حَوْبَة

mother, woman, حَوْبَة *motherly love*, حَب *love*, حَبَاب *wine-jug* (حَب = حَب).

—חַיָּא *womb*, חַיָּא *Eve* has probably the meaning of *mother*, חַי, *clan*, חַי, =

Assyr. ummātu *army*, חַיָּא = Assy. umāmu *animal*, Irob-Saho ḥiḥay *people*, Tña.

ḥeḥay *mild, affable, humane*, חַיָּא *bag*. חַיָּא *bag*. חַיָּא *bag*. חַיָּא *bag*. חַיָּא *bag*.

clan, i. e., of all human society.—חַיָּא, חַיָּא, *leather bottle*, Assy. ḥamtu, sign of

the feminine, must mean *womb, woman*, or both, חַיָּא *cause to love* (in the pregnant

branch (cf. *נָרַע* branch and *נָרַע* uppers); *רִוּקָתָא*, *רִפְתָּא*, shore, VL., Succā 26 a.¹

b) *בִּוּתָא* or *בִּוּתָא*, *בִּוּ*, Eg. Arab. *بَو*, a kind of owl.

c) *בִּיִּתָא* gnat; *בִּינָתָא* garden; *מִסְתָּא* sufficiency.

§ 799. *עִי*: a) *אִימָתָא* fear; *חֻבָּתָא* debt, guilt.

b) *דִּרְתָּא* residence; *עֲקָתָא* trouble.

§ 800. *לִוִי*: *רְשֻׁתָּא*, *רְשֻׁתָּא*, debt, permission; *חַיָּוִתָא* animal; *בִּלְיָתָא* rag; *אֲלִיָּתָא* fat-tail.—*קִרְיָתָא* city.

b) *בִּרְתָּא* daughter.²—*קִרְתָּא* city.—*קִיסְתָּא* (= קוסתא) village (§ 796 b).

qill.—§ 801. *אִיפְתָּא* reverse, opposite;³ *בִּירְתָּא* study;⁴ *טְהִירָא* clearing; *מִצְרָא* boundary;⁵ *עֵיבָרָא*, *עֵיבָרָא*, yonder side; *פִּירְתָּא* objection;⁶ *אִיבָרָא*, *אִיבָרָא*, limb.⁷—*רִצְרָא*.

§ 802. *עִי*: a) *בִּירָא* well; *פִּיבָא* wolf; *פִּיבָא* pain; *פִּירָא* fruit, plur. *פִּירֵי* C. MS. Pes. 104a (voc.); *רִיבָא*.

b) *דִּוְבָא* = *דִּיבָא*.

§ 803. *עִי*: plur. *חִינְכִי* cavity of the mouth.

§ 804. *עִי*: a) *נִפְסָא* miracle; *שִׁיבָא* chip; *אַצִּיפָא*, *אַצִּיפָא*, matting.⁸

b) *טִיבָא* nature, character; *טִינָא* moist clay; *פִּיבָא*, *פִּיבָא*, roast, VL., Sanh. 70a.

c) *טִינָא* shade.

§ 805. *עִי*: *דִּינָא* law; *שִׁיטָא*, *אַשִׁיטָא*, *מִימָא*, *שִׁישִׁתָּא*, alabaster jug.

expression: *חֲמִתְּךָ אֱלֹהֵי עָלֶיךָ*.—Assyr. *kirimmu* womb, *kirēmu* leather bag, *kirummu* drinking-jar, *karāmu* and derivatives (§ 795 a, n.), *כֶּרֶם* be kind, generous, etc.—*קֶרֶב* womb, midst, *וָעֶמָּא* womb, vessel, *רִוּקָתָא*, *קֶרֶבָּ*, leather bottle, *קֶרֶב* affability. Here may also belong *קֶרֶבָּ* relative, usually derived from *קֶרֶב* be near (קֶרֶב = קֶרֶב).—*רָחֵם* womb, *רָחֵם* woman, *רָחֵם* to love, *רָחֵם* pity, *רָחֵם* kindred.—*חֶמֶד* midst, *חֶמֶד* leather bottle, Somali *deḥ* middle, *duḥ* vagina, *deḥ* generosity.

¹ This may be explained either by *רִוּקָא* passing into *רִוּקָא*, a frequent phenomenon, or by diphthongization (§ 80); cf. *זִלְקָנָא* = *זִלְקָנָא*.

² For *דגש* of *ת* cf. König, *HG.*, II, 1, § 172, 2 seq.

³ Cf. Hebr. *סִבְכָּו*, Targ. *מִבְכָּא* (Merx, *Chr. Targ.*, Glossary, s. v. *בכא*), and the traditional pronunciation of *טִיבָא*. Cf. König, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 471.

⁴ Cf. *גִּרְתָּא* TR., II, 50.

⁵ Assyr. *maḡāru* = *baḡāru* cut.

⁶ Cf. König, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. *פִּירָא*, *פִּירָא*, *פִּירָא*, etc.

⁸ The word is connected with Hebr. *צִפְצִפָּה* (§ 966, n. 2).

§ 806. לִירִי : a) טִירָא *glazing*; שִׁירָא, שִׁירָא, *warp*; שִׁירִי, Meg 13b = שִׁירִי פִירִי C. MS. *ibid.* (voc.).¹

b) אִירָא *fire*,² עִירָא, *above*.

c) Some of the following forms may belong to b: בִּיר (*= birt = bir't*) *my funeral repast* (§ 109);³ פִּירָא *split*; שִׁירָא *mountain path, defile*, Sanh. 96b.⁴

qillat.—§ 807. דִּמְעָא *tear*; פִּסְקָא *plot, lot*; עֵלָא *calf*; פִּסְקָא *coral* (= *פִּסְקָא).⁵

§ 808. עֵין : plur. הֵישִׁי *wheat*.

§ 809. עֵץ : a) בִּירָא = עֵץ, *hair, worm, fruit-stone, grain*,⁶ מִירָא *word, thing*.

b) מִירָא [מִירָא], cf. §§ 77, 90.

§ 810. עֵרִי : בִּירָא *palace*; דִּירָא *residence*.

§ 811. לִירִי : a) סִלְיָא, Hebr. שִׁלְיָה.

b) זִנְיָא.

c) סִלְיָא or סִלְיָא = (1) סִלְיָא, (2) סִלְיָא.

qut(u)l.—§ 812. אִירָא *ear*; אִירָא, אִירָא *way*; דִּירָא *back*, דִּירָא, Assy. zumur, *body*; דִּירָא, דִּירָא *hand-spike*, Bêcā 30a;⁷ פִּירָא, פִּירָא, *ransom*.

b) תִּירָא = תִּירָא, אִירָא (§ 50, g); קִירָא *ashes*, קִירָא, קִירָא.

§ 813. יִירָא : פִּירָא *arrogance*; יִירָא *dearth*.

§ 814. עֵרָא : נִירָא *leather bottle*.⁸

¹ In Aramaic, as in later Hebrew, nouns לִירִי of the form فَعْل retain their first vowel like those of לִירִי. Cf. שִׁירִי, יִירָא for יִירָא, יִירָא.

² Cf. § 864, n. 2.

³ Cf. marginal note *ad loc.* This is usually translated *son*. Cf. בִּירָא *cat*, Hull. 87a, and Hebr. בִּירָא, plur. תִּירָא, תִּירָא (= מִירָא), *Igg. Šerîdā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 12, from which a secondary form מִירָא occurs, *ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴ שִׁירָא = ثَنِي. The word literally means *fold, wrinkle*. Since a wrinkle consists of elevation, slope, and depression, the word may denote any one of these configurations. Hence ثَنِيَّة *mountain slope, difficult mountain path, defile, mountain ridge*, שִׁירָא *strand, sloping shore*, שִׁירָא *embankment*, Assy. mušannitu = מִשְׁאֲנִיתָא, for *mušaniltu.

⁵ Cf. Noldeke, *ZDMG.*, L, 309.

⁶ אִירָא = بَنَانَة. Cf. Assy. abānu = بَنَانَة *finger*. The stem shows the same double development as in Assyrian: (1) בִּירָא *something finger-shaped, long and thin*; hence, *hair, worm*; cf. Eg. Arab. بَنِي *best Nile fish*; (2) *something protruding, hard*; hence, *fruit stone, grain, seed*; cf. בִּירָא *grain*, بَن *coffee-berries*.

⁷ Cf. Brüll, *Beth Talmūd*, I, 13.

⁸ This is probably connected with Eth. 'anada *skin, hide*, which goes back to نَدِي *be wet*; cf. Eth. reṭāb. √ נَاد = √ نَدِي.

§ 815. ע"ע : a) אַפּטאַ *foundation*; גינדא *wall*, Eth. gadgad; גינדא *bank, shore*; cf. قَاطِع; בּוּד; place; מוּרָא, מוּר, מוּרָא, myrrh.

b) שְׁתִּיתָא (§§ 23c, 155).¹

c) מִיחָא (= מוּחָא) *brain*, VL., Sanh. 95a; מִירָא (= מוּרָא), VL., Meg. 10b.—שְׁתִּיתָא (= שְׁתִּיתָא).

§ 816. ע"ר : גוּרָא, גוּרָא, or גוּרָא, גוּרָא, or גוּרָא, *short in stature*, Alf. B. M. 81b (§ 785); טוּבא *much, very*; נוּרָא *fire*; שוּרָא *wall*; רוּבָא *garlic*.²

§ 817. ל"ר : a) גוּרָא *whelp*; רוּבָא *likeness*; שוּרָא *width*.

b) רוּבָא *load*; טוּבָא *patch*; שוּרָא, אַפּטָא, Assyr. pātu, *forehead*,³ plur. אַפּטָא *twigs*.

qut(u)lat.—אִזְלָתָא, אִזְלָתָא, אִזְלָתָא, *web*; רוּבָתָא; שוּרָתָא *shoulder*; בּוּרָתָא; חֲבִיבָתָא; עוּרָתָא; עוּרָתָא.

§ 818. ע"ע : אַמְתָּא *nation*; גוּלָתָא *cloak*, חֲכִלָּא; חֲלָא, גוּלָתָא *place*, traditional pronunciation רוּבָתָא; רוּבָתָא.

§ 819. ע"ר : אַרְתָּא *evening*; בּוּשְׁתָּא, *abscess*.

§ 820. ל"ר : גוּרִיתָא *cub*; plur. גוּלִיתָא *kidneys*.

¹ Cf. حَبْدَانَا, with quššāja, Audio, *Dict. de la langue chald.*, Preface, p. 6.

² فوم means not only garlic, but a number of other plants. This shows that the word does not contain a characteristic of garlic, but goes back to the general idea of fruitfulness. It is, therefore, not improbable that the word go back to ثمر, and the line of development might still be traced out. فوم goes back to *فون, which we find in אַפּטָא bean = فول = ثول. The last stem comes through ثبل from ثمل, which is but a by-form of ثمر. The latter appears also as تمر (Guidi, *Della sede*, p. 583). It is not impossible that فول meant not only beans, but also spices = ثبل, if قَرْنَفُول be an Arabic, or Aramaic, compound (and an Indo-germanic origin has not been found for the word), properly spice-horn. But perhaps shortened from قَرْنَفُل. Cf. the compound دَارْفُل.

³ Luzzatto identifies it with Hebr. פֶּת. Cf. my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, p. 130. The underlying idea for forehead in many languages is that of extent (width or height). Cf. Kluge, s. v. stirn, Arab. جَبْهَة, Eth. phegem, Hebr. מִצָּח, must be = מרחח. Is מִצָּח, מִצָּח, connected with רחם?

⁴ ערוּבָא Yalqūt, Lev. 647.

⁵ מְצֻרָב has the sense of مَضْرَب = דוכחא; ضرب. Etymologically connected, although on a different line of development, is Assyr. madaktu camp. Cf. Irob-Saho, dik village.

b) אִפִּילָא; גִּרְדָּא *merely*; הִבִּירָא; כְּפִילָא *double*; סְפִיקָא *doubt*; פְּסִידָא *loss*; קָדַר C. MS. Meg. 7b (voc.), קִידְרָא, קְדִירָא, *pot*; רְחִילָא *ewe*; שְׁמִינָא *fat*.

c) לִיבְנָא *brick*, VL., B. M. 116b; מִשְׁחָא *dimension*; שִׁילְטָא *grandee*.

§ 829. יבִּשָׁא *dry*; יתָמָא *orphan*.

§ 830. קָלָא *great*; חַיָּא *alive*; קָשָׁא *old*.

§ 831. מֵתָא *dead*; עֵדָא *witness*; עִירָא *awake, living*, Sanh. 29b.

§ 832. לוֹי: Here the forms cannot be distinguished from those of *qatal*: עֲנִיא *poor*; קָשִׁיא *hard*.

qatilat.—§ 833. a) אֲבִידָתָא, אֲבִידָתָא (VL., B. M. 23b), *lost thing*.¹ גְּנִיבָתָא *stolen thing*; דְּבִילָתָא *fig-cake*; חֲבִירָתָא *compan-ion*; לְחִינָתָא *assembly*; חֲשִׁכָתָא *darkness*; לְחִינָתָא *concubine*.²

b) מִשְׁחָתָא *dimension*; תְּכִלָּתָא, תְּכִלָּתָא, *purple-blue*.

§ 834. a) יבִּשָׁתָא *dry*; יִזְפָּתָא *loan*.

b) דַּעְתָּא *opinion*; חֵמָתָא *wrath*; שֵׁנָתָא *sleep*.

§ 835. a) רַבָּתִי *great*.³—b) מִרְרָתָא *gall*.

§ 836. לוֹי: plur. קְטִיחָא *date stones*.

qatul(at).—§ 837. a) אַפְסָא (= אַפְסָא*) *hyena*; קְדִמָּא, קְדִמָּא, *early*.

b) חֲשׁוּכָא *late at night*; נְהוּרָא (sic), נְהוּרָא, *light*; קְדוּמָא *early*, VL., Pes. 8b.—Plur.: אַחֲרֵי *behind*; perhaps תְּחִלָּתֵי *spotted*.⁴

qital(at).—§ 838. עֵינָבָא *berry*; עֵינָבָתָא, *id.*; שִׁיכָרָא *mead*.—Plur. נְכָסֵי *property*.

¹ The vowel after ט is a helping vowel and not the affirmative ending. Cf. also עֲבִירָתָא VL., B. M. 77a.

² On the etymology of this word cf. Fleischer *apud* Levy, II., 334b sq. A similar development shows פִּילָגְשׁ: פִּלְגָשׁ *miserly, ignoble, vile*, which appears in Eg. Arab. as سِلْفَات *parasite* and goes back to قفل X. (Eg. Arab. فَلَقَس lower the head is denominative of قَفْلָة *head*, about which see § 966, n. 1), is the etymon of פִּילָגְשׁ. Cf. פִּלְגָשׁ = فَلَقَس.

From the meaning of the last word (cf. Lane's *Dict.*, s. v.), from the use of Hebr. פִּילָגְשׁ for both sexes, and from the contrast of פִּילָגְשִׁים (נָשִׁים) with שָׂרָת (1 Kgs. 11:3), the development is not difficult to trace. The *ignoble, vile*, in a primitive community, where all members of the clan are equal, could only be applied to foreign slaves. פִּילָגְשׁ, then, means *slave*, male or female, married to a free person, or to another slave. As those used as concubines were mostly, or altogether, slaves, slave and concubine became synonymous.

³ This is usually confounded with Hebr. רַבָּרִי.

⁴ Cf. Barth, *NB.*, p. 13 sq.

נִזְיָא, Alf. M. Q. 12b; נִזְיָא seeds; סְמִיָּתָא, סְמִיָּתָא, סְמִיָּתָא, a blind one, properly one of the blind, Alf. B. Q. 31b and Raši *ibid*.

b) מֶרֶ (= *mari't*, § 109), const. st. מֶרֶ, מֶרֶ, master, lord.

qatilat.—§ 844. a) כְּהִנָּתָא woman of priestly family.

b) חֹרְגָתָא step-daughter. Hebrew loan-word.

§ 845. לִי: a) אֲשִׁיתָא foundation; זְיָרָתָא corner; קֵבִיתָא keg;

נְדִיָּתָא large vat; נָזִיָּתָא, נָזִיָּתָא, נָזִיָּתָא (= *naziānata*); סְבִיָּתָא

bar-maid, plur. סְבִיָּתָא.

b) מֶרֶתָא lady, Gitt. 12a.

c) Plur.: אֲשִׁיָּתָא foundations.

qatul.—§ 846. In assuming a form *qatul*, it is perhaps superfluous to say that Hebr. *qātōl* and Arab. فَعُول are not considered to have any connection with it. König's arguments (*HG.*, II, 1, § 64) are not convincing for the following reasons: The occasional dropping of the first vowel in our current Targumic texts (and nowhere else) does not prove the original shortness of the vowel. It is due to Babylonian-Aramaic influence (§ 787). That language drops long vowels as easily as short ones; cf., e. g., עִבְדָּא, אֲמִינָא, for עִבְדָּא, אֲמִינָא. If the second vowel be originally *a*, no explanation is offered why, against all analogy, not only all Aramaic languages, but also the Arabic, have *o*, *u*. While, moreover, in Aramaic *a* sometimes becomes *o*, that it becomes *u* in Arabic cannot be shown, even if the foreign مَاجُوج should be an uninfluenced transliteration. But see on

that word § 933, n. 1. The question why the form קְטוּלָא should occur only in Aramaic is easily answered by pointing to the prominent part the *u*-vowel plays in the Aramaic verb (§ 228). Furthermore, the lengthening of the second vowel in *qatil* (§ 842b) makes such a process in *qatul* not exceptional. That such lengthening should take place mostly in *qatul*, is easily explained by the special development in its meaning. Lastly, the existence of a form *qatul* can actually be shown. Cf. هَارُجَانِيَّة, بَادَوَان, رَاوَل, رَاوَل, perhaps also دَاوَد (but cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, I, 58); Persian کَزَر = قُزِي (Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, II., 42); סְהוּרְהִיָּה *Še'elt*. § 55. Cf. also Schwally's remark on Pal. Syr.

b) With secondary doubling (§ 44): אִכָּפָא saddle; אָלָף; לִישָׁנָא, לִישָׁנָא, tongue.

c) יְהוּדָא, יְהוּדָא, Hebrew loan-words.

§ 857. יָמֵימָא day, daytime, plur. יָמֵימָא VL., B. M. 28a; אִסְדָּא, וְסָאד, וְסָאד, Eth. uaseid, head-rest; יְקָרָא honor.

§ 858. בִּי' דְּהִירָא בִּי' דְּהִירָא pressure; בִּי' דְּהִירָא spark, בִּי' דְּהִירָא = vulgar Arab. بَصَّة نَار; מִשְׁפָּא reality; שְׂבָבָא, שְׂבָבָא, neighbor, √ שְׂבַב = שְׂבִיב be near; חִירָא snivelling brat, chit (√ חָרַר); חִירָא eventual loss (√ חָרַר).

§ 859. כֹּוֹן פִּדּוֹן : כֹּוֹן פִּדּוֹן curse; חִירָא threshing; חִירָא caravan; אִוְשָׁא noise, VL., Ber. 58a (√ عاش).²

§ 860. a) לִוְיָא : לִוְיָא goods; חִנָּא, חִנָּא, condition; אִקְרָא perchance.

b) קְרָא, קְרָא, Scripture; plur. קְרָא (and קְרָא), with retention of א.

§ 861. חִירָא she-ass; צִלְחָא, צִלְחָא, megrim; plur. אִבְנָא properly fingers, Assy. abānu, only in אִבְנָא pericardium.³

§ 862. שְׂבָבָא, שְׂבָבָא pressure; שְׂבָבָא, שְׂבָבָא, neighbor (= שְׂבִיבָא VL., Sanh. 82a).

§ 863. חִירָא curse; חִירָא caravan.

§ 864. a) חִירָא deduction, discount.

b) חִירָא sister;⁴ אִשָּׁא fire, Assy. išātu;⁵ חִירָא, חִירָא, mother-in-law; חִירָא share.⁶

c) חִירָא mother-in-law.

¹ The spelling with א proves the word to be a loan-word.

² אִוְשָׁא occurs only in perfect and participle Qal. The dictionaries make it incorrectly Pa'él. For the etymology cf. also Tīā. 'a pōge proclaim, publish.

³ Raš explains this correctly by טְרָשָׁא. No טְרָשָׁא דְּבִבָּא = חִירָא = חִירָא = חִירָא = German Daumel. Cf. Kohut, 'Ar. Compl., s. v. חִירָא. Whether the singular had the feminine ending is at least doubtful. חִירָא suggests that Hebr. חִירָא originally meant 'pericardium'. Then, like חִירָא חִירָא, thoughts.

⁴ חִירָא HG. 454. On the u-vowel, cf. Fleischer, Kl. Schr., I., index, s. v. אִחַת.

⁵ Hebr. אִשָּׁא comes from the same stem אִשָּׁא and is a form like אִשָּׁא (ל) above. If it have any connection with אִשָּׁא it is only indirectly, אִשָּׁא and אִשָּׁא being parallel stems.

⁶ Plur. חִירָא TG. ed. Harkavy, § 343; חִירָא ibid. § 546.

Book Notices

JASTROW'S RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.¹

This volume is the second of the series of "Handbooks on the History of Religions," of which the author, Professor Jastrow, is the editor. It is a worthy continuation of the series so ably begun by Hopkins with his *Religions of India* in 1895. It is especially welcome, since it is the first adequate treatise on this religion. Every history of Babylonia and Assyria has contained a brief sketch of the religion, but always in the merest outline. The treatment accorded the subject by Jeremias in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* is excellent, but too brief. Sayce's *Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* was too chaotic and unreliable to be of real value even when first published, and is now by no means abreast of our knowledge. There are many excellent treatises on special topics, such as magic, the creation epic, life after death, etc.; but to bring the treatment of all these subjects into a single volume, and to bring the discussion of them as nearly up to date as one can (considering that it requires time to print a book), is a distinct service to Assyriology, as well as to the history of religion.

We are warned in the preface not to expect an exhaustive treatise, since the time for such a work has not yet come. The author endeavors rather to present the subject in compendious form, to bring our knowledge up to date, and to refrain from speculating about that which is uncertain. The last of these aims is not always easy of realization, especially in a subject our knowledge of which contains such gaps. Fortunately Professor Jastrow, though generally conservative in the matter, does not always deny himself the privilege of making conjectures. His book contains a number of suggestive hypotheses, put forth for the first time, which are worthy of the more consideration because of his usual self-restraint.

After a brief statement of the sources and method of study, a short chapter follows on the "Land and the People." Here the position taken with reference to the much-vexed Sumerian question is that from the earliest dawn of history the Semites were present in the Tigris-Euphrates valley; that probably other races were intermingled, making a composite culture, but that at a very early time the Semites dominated; and that Sumir and Akkad were employed as geographical rather than as national terms. Chaps. iii-xiv are devoted to the pantheon. This is considered

¹ THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D. (Leipzig), Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1898. xii+780 pp.; 8vo. \$3.

under four historical divisions: Babylonian gods prior to the days of Hammurabi; the pantheon in the days of Hammurabi (in this division is included the history of the gods of Babylonia until its conquest by Assyria); the Assyrian pantheon; and the neo-Babylonian pantheon. This division of the subject has both its advantages and its disadvantages. By means of it the author is able to bring out clearly the historical development, with its syncretism, its displacement of the gods of conquered cities by those of the victorious cities, and the labors of the Babylonian schoolmen in shaping the mythology so as to reconcile the conflicting claims of different deities. Thus the way in which Marduk of Babylon supplants Bel of Nippur and Nabu of Borsippa, and absorbs attributes of Bel, Nabu, and Ea, is well set forth. In this presentation Professor Jastrow makes a valuable contribution to the elucidation of the subject. The disadvantages of this method of presenting the pantheon are that it necessitates repetition and makes the list of deities, which is sufficiently large under any circumstances, appear formidable to the uninitiated.

Chaps. xv–xv are devoted to the various classes of religious literature, magical texts, prayers and hymns, penitential psalms, oracles and omens, accounts of the creation, the Gilgamish epic, myths and legends; and to the zodiacal system of the Babylonians and the views of life after death. Each class of literature is described, its bearings on religious conceptions are pointed out, and illustrations of each are given in idiomatic translations. The extracts translated are well chosen and happily rendered. Frequently they are distinctly superior to previous renderings; *e. g.*, the extract of a magical text on p. 281 shows an improvement upon King's translation in his *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*. Sometimes—though such instances are rare—the rendering is an interpretation rather than a translation. For instance, on p. 288, in the last line but one, the rendering of di'u "insanity" seems too great a specialization. Delitzsch's "Elend" (*HWB.*, 207a) or Zimmern's "Seuche" (*Shurpu*, pp. 27, 66) seems preferable. However, where so much is most excellent, it is ungracious to be hypercritical!

In his treatment of the Babylonian cosmology Professor Jastrow happily analyzes the creation epic into a nature myth—suggested by the floods and storms which sweep over the Babylonian plains, when the sun is obscured and a conflict seems to be going on between the storm and the sun-god—and a work in glorification of Marduk. The material of the nature myth has, he thinks, been worked over by the Babylonian schoolmen and made the basis of a glorification of Marduk. Marduk, in the form of the poem known to us, replaces Bel of Nippur, who in an earlier recension of it was the conqueror of Tiamat. The development in the religious history which is exhibited in the earlier part of Jastrow's book makes this conclusion probable.

Professor Jastrow's treatment of the Gilgamish epic contains, perhaps, his most original and valuable contribution to the elucidation of these religious and semi-religious texts. Some years ago I suggested in this

JOURNAL (Vol. X, p. 14) that there were different strata in this epic. Professor Jastrow has reached the same conclusion and has indicated the probable nature of these strata. The nucleus of the epic is, he thinks, to be found in the legendary tales of Gilgamesh, a hero who has been deified. To this there has been engrafted: (1) The story of Eabani, the primitive man who lives in a state of blissful wildness with the animals—a state from which he is enticed by woman. Eabani corresponds in a general way, he thinks, to Adam among the Hebrews. (2) There was also attached to the Gilgamesh legend a nature myth, which he finds in the sixth tablet, where the goddess Ishtar offers herself in marriage to Gilgamesh. (3) There was also added to these the story of the flood in the eleventh tablet—a narrative originally independent and itself composed of two separate strata, one an account of the destruction of the city Shurippak, the other a myth founded on the annual phenomenon of the overflow of the Euphrates. (4) Lastly, in the twelfth tablet, scholastic philosophy takes hold of the Gilgamesh tale and makes it the medium of illustrating the problem of the secret of death. This analysis is very suggestive, and though now and then one would interpret a detail a little differently, as a whole it commends itself.

Chap. xxvi is devoted to the temples and the cult. Here the author strikes into a field largely unworked before. The facts which he brings together as to the form of the temples, the purposes of the different parts of the sacred inclosure, the priesthood and the sacrifices are a most welcome beginning of the history of an obscure subject. The history closes with a sympathetic estimate of the value of the Babylonian-Assyrian religion, and the book is concluded with an excellent bibliography of the subject.

This volume lays a wide circle of scholars under obligation to its author. One cannot realize, unless he has endeavored to work in some little corner of the large field which Professor Jastrow covers, the amount of industry, patience, and acumen necessary to the production of such a work. The author is to be congratulated upon having accomplished so difficult a task so well. I have noted but few errors. The statement on p. 203, that Ishtar of Arbela does not make her appearance in the historical texts till the time of Esarhaddon, is one of these. The fact is overlooked that the Taylor cylinder shows that she was a member of Sennacherib's pantheon. Cf. I Rawlinson 41, 50. Again, on p. 661, it would have been well in discussing sacrifice to note that a text of Esarhaddon proves that the commensal idea of sacrifice, demonstrated for primitive Semitic peoples by W. R. Smith, persisted in Assyria. Esarhaddon says (I R. 47, col. vi, 27 sqq.): "Assur (and) Ishtar of Nineveh, the gods of Assyria, all of them into it (the palace) I invited; large, pure sacrifices I offered before them, I presented my present. These gods in the faithfulness of their hearts drew near unto my royalty. The princes and people of my country all of them at the banquet and feast at the festive table I made to sit." A feast is then described. Should not this passage help us to determine "how far the Semitic dwellers in the

Euphrates valley were influenced by primitive conceptions of sacrifice"? Such points will, no doubt, be corrected in the future editions, which will be necessary if the work receives the appreciation which it merits. It is alike necessary to the Assyriologist, the Old Testament scholar, and the student of comparative religion.

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GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR.¹

The task of the reviewer of this book is simply that of testing the faithfulness of the translation to the original text. The conception of what a good translation should be varies all of the way from a close literal rendering to that of a free breaking-up and practical reconstruction of the original text, preserving, at the same time, the substantial sense of that original. The fact of this wide divergence in the conception of a translation should insure large charity on the part of a critic of such work.

The stupendous amount of labor connected with the translation and publication of such a book as this is far beyond the conception of most literary workers. A minute examination of this translation alongside of the original, through several long sections, reveals the fact that the translators used large liberties with the original, freely breaking up and reconstructing the text on the basis of the sense. Slight slips here and there, like the leaving out of a word, or the addition of a word, scarcely merit notice. It is interesting to note how closely this translation of the syntax runs alongside of that of Mitchell's translation of 1893. Often the wording is precisely the same; again the sentence, which in Mitchell may be too literal and stiff, is broken up and given an easier form. Again, one or two synonyms only mark the difference between the two. A translator's task is always lightened by the existence of a predecessor's work. While the sense is substantially the same in almost every instance in the syntax, this is, as a rule, an easier and freer rendering of the original into English, and carries with it the few additions found in the twenty-sixth edition.

One of the troublesome questions which meet every translator is that of how to reproduce the references and quotations. The only reasonable method is to make as much of the material as possible accessible to the readers for whom a translation is made. Consequently all references to books should give the title of the book just as it reads on the book, and in the language in which the book is written. The titles of articles which exist only in other than the English language should follow the same rule. But in a translation designed for English readers, reference should be made to the *English* edition, if such occurs. On p. 2, note 1, also on p. 3, l. 11 from the bottom, we find English titles for articles

¹ GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR, as edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Translated from the Twenty-fifth German Edition by the late Rev. G. W. Collins, M.A.; the Translation Revised and Adjusted to the Twenty-sixth Edition by A. E. Cowley, M.A. Oxford: *The Clarendon Press*, 1898; New York: *Henry Frowde*. xviii + 598 pp. \$5.25.

which are found only in German—of no use to students who can make use of English only. On pp. 23 and 107, Buhl's *Kanon u. Text des A. T.* is referred to with no hint on the part of the translator that an English edition is extant. In several instances (pp. 67, 100, etc.) the German *WB.* is translated simply by *Lexicon*, where Gesenius' complete English Lexicon is greatly antiquated. Would it not have been better to have said simply, *discussed in Gesenius' Wörterbuch* [last edition, such being the case]?

A few corrections also in facts: Holzinger, *Einl. in den Hexateuch*, not *Pentateuch* (p. 13, l. 4 from bottom); Strack, *Einl. ins A. T.*⁴ should be ⁵, i. e., *A. T.*⁵ (p. 13, l. 3 from bottom). On p. 24, S. J. Curtiss should be *S. I. Curtiss*, as in the German original. On p. 16, the author substitutes Cheyne's *Origin of the Psalter* for Giesebrecht's article in *ZATW.*, 1881. On p. 334 and elsewhere, for *Jahwe* in the German the translator substitutes *The Lord*. A few additions here and there of English works not found in the original, e. g., Cheyne's *Introduction to Isaiah* (p. 14) and the new volumes of the "Polychrome Bible" (p. 20), add value to the work.

A few German idioms color the English, but these can scarcely be avoided in a work of such magnitude. But "*cow in calf*" (p. 410, *e*) is an unhappy conveyance of the original.

It is very unfortunate that a book of such value should not be provided, in addition to indexes of subjects and texts, with an index of Hebrew words. This puts students to an extremely irritating disadvantage, in fact leads them to prefer a Hebrew grammar less complete in some other respects, if its contents are readily accessible through complete Hebrew indexes.

The publishers have done well, by the use of varied type, in keeping down the size of the volume, but its paper is still thicker than the German edition and the book consequently larger. The cost of the book is almost prohibitory of sales, especially to students of Hebrew, whose funds are notably scarce. Withal the translator is to be congratulated (Mr. Collins died before the appearance of his work) on the great care shown on every page, both in the translations and in the proof-reading, of this edition of the people's Hebrew Grammar of this day.

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KÖNIG'S HEBREW SYNTAX.¹

The reviewer who finds himself face to face with a monumental work is at a great disadvantage. There is so little to *criticise* and so much to *learn*. Especially is this the case with a book, like the present, every page of which contains evidences of an amazing industry, a prodigious learning, and that faculty of ripe judgment which is the result of both

¹ HISTORISCH-COMPARATIVE SYNTAX DER HEBRÄISCHEN SPRACHE. Schlussteil (= II. Hälfte, 2. Teil) des historisch-kritischen Lehrgebäudes der hebräischen Sprache, mit comparativer Berücksichtigung des Semitischen überhaupt. Von Fr. Ed. König. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897; ix + 721 pp. M. 18; bound, M. 20.50.

these attainments. It is much easier to write a "grammar" (in the ordinary sense of the word; *i. e.*, the "accidence" or "Formenlehre") than a "syntax" (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 1899, p. viii). The former deals with the formal side of a grammatical category; while syntax, to speak merely of one of its parts, teaches the use to which a category is put or the varieties of thought expressed by it. Thus the "plural" is a grammatical category; with a hasty and superficial conception of its function, we are, in the accidence, concerned only with the *form* of the plural, that is, with the distinguishing features by which a given word may be recognized as a plural without reference to the context; in the Hebrew accidence we are told that a word *ending* in ים or ת is of the plural number; such words are at once recognized as plurals and are vaguely understood to convey the idea of numerical plurality. In the syntax (König, pp. 193-218) the following additional functions of the plural *form* are noticed: the *differentiating* or *specifying* (חלב "fat," חלבים "fat pieces;" גשם "rain," גשמים "showers;" עפר "dust," עפרות "masses of dust"), the *amplifying* (both as regards extension in space and time: ממשלות "sphere of dominion," חיים "course of life," and intensity implying fulness and completeness: צדקות "complete justice"), the *generic* or *qualifying* (כפל אדירים not "a bowl belonging to several noblemen," but "a bowl such as noblemen possess"), the *summarizing* (כסף שקלים "silver or money to the amount of (several) shekels;" ימים "days, summarily speaking," "a number of days," "for some time"), the *conventional* (ימים properly an approximating expression for a long interval of time nearly corresponding to a year, hence almost = שנה), etc. We may tell the beginner that the קטל form expresses actuality and the יקטל form contingency or potentiality, and then proceed to teach the קטל and יקטל forms in all their variety in accordance not only with gender, number, and person, but also with stem formation, peculiarity of the sounds constituting the root (gutturals, liquids), and the complete or incomplete development of the root along the lines of triliterality. So far we remain (and we do so for some time!) within the province of the "Formenlehre." But we advance to "syntax" as soon as we attempt to specify the various uses to which the so-called Hebrew tenses are put. And those uses must be determined solely from the context. There is not an example which does not require a minute and thoroughgoing examination of its surroundings; a reliable syntax, in other words, presupposes a reliable exegesis. That יעשה (1 Sam. 1:7) has a frequentative sense may be gathered from שנה בשנה; in Job 1:5 from כל הימים. To properly translate תאכל (2 Sam. 11:25) one must read the entire chapter. The context alone tells that ידעתי in Josh. 2:4 is to be rendered in English by the past and in the next following verse by the present. Not all cases, of course, are as simple as those just mentioned. In some there will obviously be occasion for difference of opinion; in others it may be impossible to reach a conclusion at all. As in the preceding two parts, so also here König endeavors to be less dogmatic and more cautious: wherever feasible, a question is

debated; other opinions are mentioned, even though they be rejected by the author. This method makes König's book serviceable in the hands of the independent exegete who, when confronted with a passage admitting of various interpretations, will find it there, most probably, discussed and perhaps elucidated in the light of a number of analogous cases which have not escaped the notice of so assiduous and reliable a worker as König. The grammarian is tempted to reduce everything to rule, to bring the strangest case "unter Dach und Fach," at times, perhaps, by hook or by crook, as we say; the exegete, again, would fain isolate the case he is handling, and try to obtain all the light from the context on hand; very often his repeated digging at a crux will be rewarded with a deeper insight into the meaning of the puzzling verse, or with the discovery of a better reading which of necessity will escape the eye that has several passages before it. Exegesis and grammar must constantly check each other. The findings in each province need constant revision with a view to those of the other. It will, therefore, be clear that we must not expect to find all exegetical difficulties upon which syntax has any bearing definitively settled in König's work. Take an example on the first page (p. 3). A pronoun may be replaced by a noun, we are told, for the sake of clearness. Gen. 2:20b is given as an instance. In the place of "for himself" it reads "for the man." "For a man" (Kautzsch's Bible) is, of course, a makeshift; but neither is König's rendering (which is that of Ibn Ezra) convincing. Perhaps we shall have to accept Olshausen's emendation: וְהָאָדָם. To the grammarian (p. 49) עַד יִמְהַדְּרֵל (in the light of Gen. 29:7) is worthy of consideration as the original of עַד דָּוָר הַגִּדְיָל (1 Sam. 20:41); to the exegete (H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 196) "it does not seem sustained by usage." These two examples will suffice to show how far the exegete may find it necessary to reject what is declared to be in accord with usage by even the most competent student of the Hebrew language. Harmless is König's conservative bias; harmless, because it never carries him beyond that which is linguistically permissible. We mention, as an example, his vindication of the declarative sense for כָּלָה (Gen. 2:2a); not "God completed his work on the seventh day," but simply "he declared his work to be complete." It is needless to say that the harmonists who accomplish their object, if necessary, in violation of the genius of the language will find no accomplice in König. Let them turn to p. 51, for example.

König calls his syntax *historical* and *comparative*. Just as in the accident the philologist will not content himself with the mere registration of linguistic facts which, in Hebrew, represent the last stage in the development of the language as stereotyped in the tradition of the schools, but will strive to follow up the forms to the earlier formative stages and, as far as possible, to recount the changes of a form throughout its entire life, or, in short, to write its *history*, so it is in the province of syntax also, where equally the complex has its origin in the simple, both as regards the usage of grammatical forms and the structure of sentences.

And as in the accident the field which the historical grammarian surveys must be widened so as to include the cognate languages—for very often the simple and the original cannot be discovered by the study of one language alone, and recourse must be had to the comparative method—so, again, it is in syntactical investigations likewise, which the comparative method alone will render fruitful. Wright's *Lectures* and Zimmern's small, but valuable, treatise deal with the accident solely. A comparative syntax of the Semitic languages does not exist. For König's book is, of course, a comparative syntax of the Hebrew language only. The difference is obvious and calls for no elucidation. But even here König has few predecessors. The comparative element is a notable feature of the book. We must not expect everywhere an exhaustive discussion of the similar or the dissimilar. The mere juxtaposition of the usages in the various dialects is in itself helpful and stimulating. The crown of historico-comparative researches in the "Formenlehre" is the phonology; the laws of the change of sounds are mainly the laws of the development and derivation of forms. In the syntax, psychology is the ultimate court of appeal, and a psychological reduction of a complicated construction to its original meaning, or thought origin, is the goal and pride of historico-comparative investigations in syntax. König's *Lehrgebäude* has aimed at both; the principles which the young student laid down in his dissertation, *Gedanke, Laut und Accent* (1874), the mature scholar has conscientiously carried out in the work now auspiciously consummated. We congratulate Professor König on the completion of his great work, which puts all students of Semitic philology, but particularly students of the Old Testament, under lasting obligations.

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HARDER'S ARABIC CONVERSATION-GRAMMAR.¹

At last we have an elementary Arabic grammar which follows a rational method. The writers of such books seem to find it strangely hard to accept the simple principles which must govern the learning of a language. The fact that it is a matter of memory almost purely, and very mechanical memory—indeed, the more mechanical the better—at that, wins its way slowly. Yet it is one of the open secrets of language-teaching; every teacher who knows anything at all, and who does not simply follow a blind round of rules and tables, knows that on exercises and drill in them he must depend for success. That this is coming to be recognized more and more widely as applied to modern languages, is due in very great part to the Gaspey-Otto-Sauer method, which this book follows, and to the veteran firm of Julius Groos in Heidelberg. There are many other variations on this theme of memory-work—the

¹ ARABISCHE KONVERSATIONS-GRAMMATIK mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriftsprache von Ernst Harder, Dr. phil. Mit einer Einführung von Professor Martin Hartmann, Lehrer des Arabischen am Orientalischen Seminar zu Berlin. Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 1898. xi + 475 pp. Also Schlüssel to the same; 103 pp. M. 10.

old-fashioned Prendergast, for example, and the more modern Rosenthal, excellent all in their way if only as protests—but probably for Arabic that of Otto is best.

But Arabic is a wide word and it will be well to define more exactly what side of it is treated here. There is classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'ān, of the traditions, and of the poems of the classical period, *al-luġha*, "the" language, as it is fondly called. Then there is the widespread Bedawī Arabic of the present day; the spoken tongue of the nomad tribes in the deserts from Morocco to Baghdād. This idiom is practically one, and is the descendant of that talked by the Bedawīn of the *Jāhiliyya*. Thus it is descended from the tongue of the people which lies behind classical Arabic. What was the relation of that spoken tongue to classical Arabic, whether they ever coincided or the one was an artificial form of the other, is still unknown. Next we have a crowd of little spoken dialects, never reduced to writing except in jest, the talk of the bazar and of ordinary life; Baghdād, al-Baṣra, Zanzibar, Damascus, Bayrūt, Cairo, even places only twenty miles apart, showing different forms. There can be little doubt that these are the result of local mixture with the language of the Arab conquerors when they poured out of the desert. We get Arabic + Persian in 'Irāq; Arabic + Aramaic in Syria; Arabic + Coptic in Egypt. Lastly, there is the language which today binds together all educated speakers of Arabic. Get such a man in the Muslim world, from Tangier to China, and he will understand you if you speak it. But it is not really a spoken language. It is the language of the pulpit and the platform, used on solemn occasions and by the pedantic to impress; above all, it is the language of paper, of the pen, and of the printer. It is the lineal descendant of classical Arabic, and at its highest tries to reproduce classical Arabic. The learned modern shaykh (in the bazar he is a shēkh) writes qaṣīdas after Imr al-Qays or Zuhayr; he weeps over the *aṭlāl* and girds his camel in the morning to follow the track of his beloved. He builds elaborate *khutbas* in *saj'* and does not know that 'Umar or Abū Bakr, whom he seeks to imitate, would have branded him for it as a *Kāhin*. It is this last form which Dr. Harder has treated. His book is arranged exactly like the other *Konversations-Grammatiken* published at Heidelberg, except that there is no conversation in it. That follows from the nature of the idiom which it gives; no one converses in it but a stranger or a pedant. Further, the plan is excellently carried out; Dr. Harder shows himself an able Arabist and a conscientious bookmaker. Some who know only the convention of the school of Fleischer, and are ignorant of the native grammarians, will carp at his use of *hamzat-al-wasl*; but an Arabist who knows enough to translate *al-ḥamdu lillāh* "Der Preis gebührt Gott" need not mind them.

In his book there are forty-eight Lessons divided, as usual, into two parts, and the last of them deals at some length with the Arabic meters. Prefixed is a short introduction by Dr. Martin Hartmann, and appended are further reading extracts, consisting of short *Sūras* from the Qur'ān,

some fables, bits from the *1001 Nights* and from modern romances and newspapers, correspondence, business and private, and forms of contract, sale, hire, etc.

The book will be useful to several classes of students. It should be carefully worked through by any one who wishes to learn to talk Arabic. It will not teach him to do so—for that he must simply listen and talk—but it is an almost essential first step. Secondly, those who wish to read Arabic newspapers, and the new Arabic literature which is growing up, will find here a sufficient introduction. And, thirdly, the students of Arabic who do not begin with a knowledge of Hebrew, such as the increasing class of Sanscritists and Zend scholars who recognize the value of Arabic historical literature, will find here their easiest path. It will lead them straight to al-Bērūnī, al-Mas'ūdī, and the rest.

To these and to all learners of Arabic the book can be cordially recommended.

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ROTHSTEIN, THE DYNASTY OF ḤĪRA.¹

While the "kingdom" of ḤĪra was not of great size, its history is of sufficient interest and importance to deserve careful study, so that we feel that Dr. Rothstein was happy in his choice of a subject for investigation.

Dr. Rothstein divides his little work into nine sections, some of which we shall speak of particularly. After some discussion of the literature of the subject in the first section (pp. 1-5), the author turns in the second (pp. 5-12) to a consideration of the sources, both Arabic and non-Arabic. He well points out with how great caution the Arabic chronicles dealing with this period must be used, and his remarks on the old Arabic poets give a very good idea of the difficulties and uncertainties which attend their use as sources. The author emphasizes the value of the Syrian and Byzantine writings, and feels that Nöldeke very properly based his chronology on these.

Section four—"The Inhabitants of al-ḤĪra"—(pp. 18-40) contains some interesting discussions. Of the three classes into which the author divides the population of al-ḤĪra we shall mention only the second, the *Ibad*. By this word *Ibad* is meant, according to the author, the Christians, members of different tribes, who dwelt in al-ḤĪra. The author points out that there were Christian bishops of al-ḤĪra very early in the fifth century, and that, when the oriental church divided up, the Christians of al-ḤĪra joined the Nestorians. It was, no doubt, from the *Ibad* that many Christian ideas found their way into Arabic. For not only was al-ḤĪra one of the great points of the caravan trade, but its court was eagerly sought by the Arab poets. Its culture was largely Aramaic;

¹ DIE DYNASTIE DER LAHMIDEN IN AL-ḤĪRA. Ein Versuch zur arabisch-persischen Geschichte zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Von Dr. phil. Gustav Rothstein. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1899. vi+152 pp. M. 4.50.

the Christians used Syriac as their church language, and in this way many terms were introduced into the Arabic. Our author agrees with Wellhausen in thinking that the Christians, and especially the *Ibad*, contributed not a little to the formation of an Arabic literary language.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh sections are entitled, respectively: "The Rise of the Dynasty of Naṣr" (pp. 41-50); "The Lists of the 'Kings' of al-Ḥīra" (pp. 50-60); "The History of the Laḥmid Dynasty" (pp. 60-125).

In the eighth section (pp. 125-38) there is a discussion of such general questions as the relation of al-Ḥīra to the Persians and Arabs, the organization of the state, etc. Section nine (pp. 138-43) treats of the position of the Laḥmids in the matter of religion.

There are two indexes, one of the persons and subjects mentioned, and the other of the poets cited.

In his preface Dr. Rothstein acknowledges his great indebtedness to Nöldeke, but throughout his book he gives evidence of much independent study. In view of the character of the sources of this period, it is only natural that some scholars might differ with Dr. Rothstein in some matters of detail. But we feel that he has produced a good piece of work, and we shall be glad to welcome further results of his investigation.

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NÖLDEKE'S SYRIAC GRAMMAR.¹

When a master in Aramaic like Professor Nöldeke gives us a Syriac grammar, we can but receive it with gratitude. When that grammar is the second edition of one that for nearly twenty years has been the comrade and guide of all students of Syriac, but little more remains to be said. Praise is superfluous; criticism is little in place. The book in its former edition approved itself as the clearest and most accurate introduction to the language with which it deals, and also as the most thorough investigation of the laws on which that language moves.

The following are the principal additions and changes which the grammar shows in its new form. Instead of the ugly and angular Maronite type which has disgraced our Syriac printing for so long, the rounded and graceful Drugulin font is used; this means more space, but that does not matter. Further, to the table of the alphabet on p. 2 the Nestorian is added, a welcome addition for students who are puzzling their way through the cramped text of the Bible Society. In Euting's table of Aramaic scripts we find four new columns: of the Senjirli inscriptions, and that of Taymā, of Nabatean, and of Palmyrene; Palmyrene, especially, is of the highest interest as a joining place of square Hebrew and Estrangelo Syriac. On p. 4 the pronunciation of the palatal ܥ is more exactly indicated. In the preface is noticed how the synoptic gospels read more idiomatically and flowingly in Syriac than

¹ KURZGEFASSTE SYRISCHE GRAMMATIK. Von Theodor Nöldeke. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Mit einer Schrifttafel von Julius Euting. Leipzig: Chr. Herm. Tauchnitz, 1896. xxiv+306 pp.; 8vo. M. 12.

in the Greek, which we reckon their original form; a fact especially true of the Curetonian and of the Sinaitic versions. In consequence they have been quoted more frequently than in the first edition, and there are many references to Sinaitic peculiarities in orthography and accident. We have here only another indication that the future exegesis of the synoptics must be in Aramaic and not in Greek. Professor Nöldeke appears to have abandoned the view that ܐܢ as 3d masc. sing. suffix to certain verbal forms is a purely orthographic addition. The part of § 50 on p. 36 suggesting that is removed. We should have been glad of some further light on this change. On p. 39 there is an important addition. The information desired in the first edition as to the fall of the principal accent according to the tradition of the Syrian church is supplied through Guidi and Cardahi. Of absolutely new sections there are only six, but many have received considerable change and addition. A good example is the latter part of § 247, dealing with the use of ܐܢ with the passive. In that section, in the former edition of the grammar, this construction had been viewed as stating the agent of the action involved in the passive verb. But such a view—that the agent could be given with a passive—was in the teeth of all Semitic analogy. You cannot say *ḡuriba Zaydun* by 'Amr; if you want to bring 'Amr in, the verb must be active. So, in this second edition, such constructions are differently rendered and, without doubt, with right. Thus ܐܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ was rendered "wurden von ihm unterwiesen," but is now rendered "wurden seine Schüler," i. e., "became students of his" or "to him." Again, ܐܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ was rendered "wurden von seinen Aposteln gefangen," but now "wurden seinen Aposteln als Fang zu Theil."

In view of this return to methods of Arabic grammar, it is somewhat singular that the old distinction between the nominal and the verbal sentence is retained. On p. 235 we still read that a nominal sentence is one which has a substantive, an adjective, or an adverbial clause as predicate. The present reviewer may be a dweller in the innermost caves of ignorance, but he cannot see any advantage, pedagogic or scientific, in such a statement. Further, it does not bring out the essential point of the Semitic nominal sentence, that the subject, the noun, is the chief thing and the first thing thought of. In Arabic it does not matter what we say about Zayd or how we say it; whether it is that he is going away, or that his father is sick, or that he has struck 'Amr. If we put Zayd first, we mean him first; and we have a nominal sentence, whatever the nature of its predicate may be. Our devotion to the formulæ of the Arabic grammarians may sometimes be unwise, but here we are following a sound logical distinction. Further, this is the only analysis that gives us at a stroke the whole theory and practice of the circumstantial clause; it is simply a nominal sentence, and that finishes the matter. It is true that in a Syriac sentence order plays little part; but it plays at least so much as this.

Going back to the earlier sections, it would have been of the highest interest if Professor Nöldeke had put before us his views of the origin or

origins of the nominal forms. That part of the book is practically in its 1880 condition; it belongs to the period before Barth and Lagarde. Another regret which I cannot suppress is that the Nestorian vocalization of the verbs should not have been more fully indicated. The difference between ܐ and ܐ̇ is regularly marked, but that between ܐ and ܐ̇ hardly at all. A few forms would have sufficed to give the learner a working basis of distinction; for example, ܡܝܚܐ, ܡܝܚܐ̇, ܡܝܚܐ̇, ܡܝܚܐ̇, etc. Without doubt there is much in the East Syrian vocalization that is artificial and which smacks of the school, but have we not here at least a sound tradition?

I have noticed a few misprints, but only a few. Thus on p. 86 D. we must read "der 2. und 3. pl. und der 1. sg.;" on p. 117, l. 1, read "Der 3. pl. f.;" and p. 124 B., end of first paragraph, read "Pael" for "Peal." On p. 16 D. there might with advantage have been a reference to § 94 C. D. There is no index, but an excellent fourteen-page table of contents fairly takes its place.

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THEOLOGICAL AND SEMITIC LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

TO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES, AND THE BIBLICAL WORLD

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Place of Publication: B. = Berlin; Bo. = Boston; Br. = Breslau; Chi. = Chicago; Cin. = Cincinnati; Ed. = Edinburgh; F. = Freiburg i. Br.; Fr. = Frankfurt a. M.; G. = Göttingen; Gi. = Giessen; Go. = Gotha; Gü. = Gütersloh; Hl. = Halle; K8. = Königsberg; L. = Leipzig; Lo. = London; M. = München; N. Y. = New York; P. = Paris; Ph. = Philadelphia; St. = Stuttgart; Str. = Strassburg; Tü. = Tübingen; W. = Wien.

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PERIODICALS.

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|--------------|---|------------------|--|
| <i>A.</i> | = Arena. | <i>Mi.</i> | = Mind. |
| <i>AC.</i> | = L'association catholique. | <i>MIM.</i> | = Monatsschrift für innere Mission. |
| <i>ACQ.</i> | = American Catholic Quarterly Review. | <i>M&N.</i> | = Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| <i>AER.</i> | = American Ecclesiastical Review. | <i>DP-V.</i> | = Monist. |
| <i>AGPA.</i> | = Archiv f. d. Geschichte der Philosophie. | <i>Mo.</i> | = Nuova Anthologia. |
| <i>AJSL.</i> | = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. | <i>NA.</i> | = Nathanael. |
| <i>AJTh.</i> | = American Journal of Theology. | <i>Nath.</i> | = Nineteenth Century. |
| <i>AKKR.</i> | = Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht. | <i>NC.</i> | = New Century Review. |
| <i>AMZ.</i> | = Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift. | <i>NCR.</i> | = Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift. |
| <i>ARW.</i> | = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. | <i>NkZ.</i> | = New World. |
| <i>BAZ.</i> | = Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, München. | <i>NW.</i> | = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung. |
| <i>BBK.</i> | = Beiträge zur bayr. Kirchen-Gesch. | <i>OLZ.</i> | = Outlook. |
| <i>BG.</i> | = Beweis des Glaubens. | <i>Ou.</i> | = Palestine Exploration Fund; Quarterly Statement. |
| <i>BS.</i> | = Bibliotheca Sacra. | <i>PEFQS.</i> | = Philosophische Monatshefte. |
| <i>BU.</i> | = Bibliothèque universelle. | <i>P&M.</i> | = Philosophical Review. |
| <i>BW.</i> | = Biblical World. | <i>PKR.</i> | = Presbyterian Quarterly. |
| <i>BZ.</i> | = Byzantinische Zeitschrift. | <i>PQ.</i> | = Protestant. |
| <i>CR.</i> | = Contemporary Review. | <i>Pr.</i> | = Protestantische Monatshefte. |
| <i>CKOR.</i> | = Charity Organization Review. | <i>PrM.</i> | = Presbyterian and Reformed Review. |
| <i>CKQR.</i> | = Church Quart. Review. | <i>PRR.</i> | = Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology. |
| <i>CKR.</i> | = Charities Review. | <i>PSBA.</i> | = Quarterly Review. |
| <i>CKrK.</i> | = Christliches Kunstblatt. | <i>OR.</i> | = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale. |
| <i>CKrL.</i> | = Christian Literature. | <i>RAAO.</i> | = Revue biblique. |
| <i>CKrQ.</i> | = Christian Quarterly. | <i>RB.</i> | = Revue bénédictine. |
| <i>CKrW.</i> | = Christliche Welt. | <i>Rbd.</i> | = Reformed Church Review. |
| <i>D-A</i> | = Deutsch-amerik. Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche. | <i>RChr.</i> | = Revue chrétienne. |
| <i>ZTKK.</i> | = Deutsch-evangelische Blätter. | <i>RChrS.</i> | = Revue de christianisme sociale. |
| <i>DEB.</i> | = Deutsche Revue. | <i>RdM.</i> | = Revue des deux Mondes. |
| <i>DR.</i> | = Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht. | <i>REJ.</i> | = Revue des études juives. |
| <i>DZKR.</i> | = English Historical Review. | <i>RHLR.</i> | = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses. |
| <i>EHR.</i> | = Evangelische Kirchenzeitung. | <i>RHR.</i> | = Revue de l'histoire des religions. |
| <i>EMM.</i> | = Evangelisches Missions-Magazin. | <i>RQ.</i> | = Römische Quartalschrift f. christl. Alterthumskunde u. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>ER.</i> | = Edinburgh Review. | <i>RS.</i> | = Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne. |
| <i>Et.</i> | = Études. | <i>RTh.</i> | = Revue théologique. |
| <i>ET.</i> | = Expository Times. | <i>RThPh.</i> | = Revue de théologie et de philosophie. |
| <i>Exp.</i> | = Expositor. | <i>RThQR.</i> | = Revue de théol. et des quest. relig. |
| <i>F.</i> | = Forum. | <i>SA.</i> | = Sitzungsberichte der Akad. d. Wiss. e. g. Berlin, München etc. |
| <i>FR.</i> | = Fortnightly Review. | <i>StKr.</i> | = Theol. Studien und Kritiken. |
| <i>GPr.</i> | = Gymnasialprogramm. | <i>StWV.</i> | = Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede. |
| <i>Hk.</i> | = Halte was du hast. | <i>TkQ.</i> | = Theologische Quartalschrift. |
| <i>HN.</i> | = L'humanité nouvelle. | <i>T&R.</i> | = Theologische Rundschau. |
| <i>HR.</i> | = Homiletic Review. | <i>T&St.</i> | = Theologische Studien. |
| <i>HSR.</i> | = Hartford Sem. Record. | <i>T&T.</i> | = Theologisch Tijdschrift. |
| <i>HZ.</i> | = Historische Zeitschrift. | <i>UC.</i> | = L'Université catholique. |
| <i>IAQR.</i> | = Imperial Asiatic Quarterly Review. | <i>UPr.</i> | = Universitätsprogramm. |
| <i>ID.</i> | = Inaugural-Dissertation. | <i>VwPh.</i> | = Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie |
| <i>IER.</i> | = Indian Evang. Review. | <i>WZKM.</i> | = Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes. |
| <i>IJE.</i> | = International Journal of Ethics. | <i>ZA.</i> | = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. |
| <i>Ind.</i> | = Independent. | <i>ZAeg.</i> | = Z. für ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde. |
| <i>IThR.</i> | = Internat. Theol. Review. | <i>ZATW.</i> | = Z. für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| <i>JA.</i> | = Journal asiatique. | <i>ZDMG.</i> | = Z. d. Deutsch-Morgenl. Gesellsch. |
| <i>JBL.</i> | = Journal of Biblical Literature. | <i>ZDPV.</i> | = Z. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. |
| <i>JM.</i> | = Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums. | <i>ZeRU.</i> | = Z. für den evangelischen Religions-Unterricht. |
| <i>JQR.</i> | = Jewish Quarterly Review. | <i>ZKG.</i> | = Z. f. Kirchengeschichte. |
| <i>JRAS.</i> | = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. | <i>ZkTh.</i> | = Z. f. kathol. Theologie. |
| <i>JTVI.</i> | = Journal of Trans. of Victoria Institute. | <i>ZMR.</i> | = Z. f. Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft. |
| <i>Kath.</i> | = Der Katholik, Zeitschr. f. kathol. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben. | <i>ZPhKr.</i> | = Z. f. Philosophie und philos. Kritik. |
| <i>KM.</i> | = Kirchl. Monatsschrift. | <i>ZprTh.</i> | = Z. f. prakt. Theologie. |
| <i>KT.</i> | = Kyrklig Tidskrift. | <i>ZSchw.</i> | = Z. f. Theol. aus d. Schweiz. |
| <i>KZ.</i> | = Katechetische Zeitschrift. | <i>ZTKK.</i> | = Z. f. Theologie u. Kirche. |
| <i>LCKR.</i> | = Lutheran Church Review. | <i>ZwTh.</i> | = Z. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie. |
| <i>LQ.</i> | = Lutheran Quarterly. | | |
| <i>LQR.</i> | = London Quarterly Review. | | |
| <i>M.</i> | = Muséon. | | |
| <i>MA.</i> | = Mittheilungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, e. g. Berlin, München. | | |
| <i>MCG.</i> | = Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft. | | |
| <i>MGK.</i> | = Monatsschrift f. Gottesdienst u. kirchl. Knust. | | |

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ERRATUM.—Page 45, last line, read *may be*, instead of "way he."

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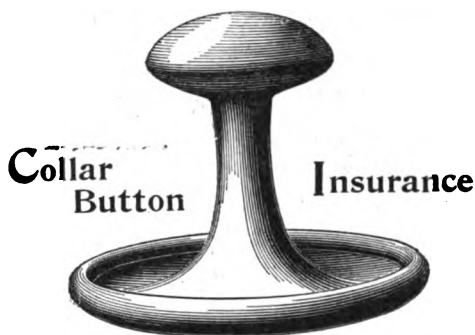
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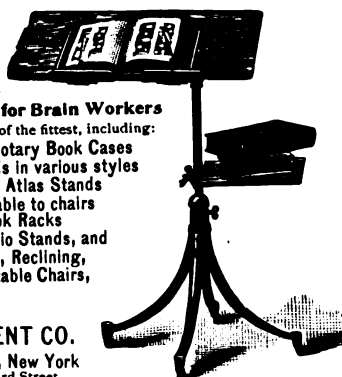
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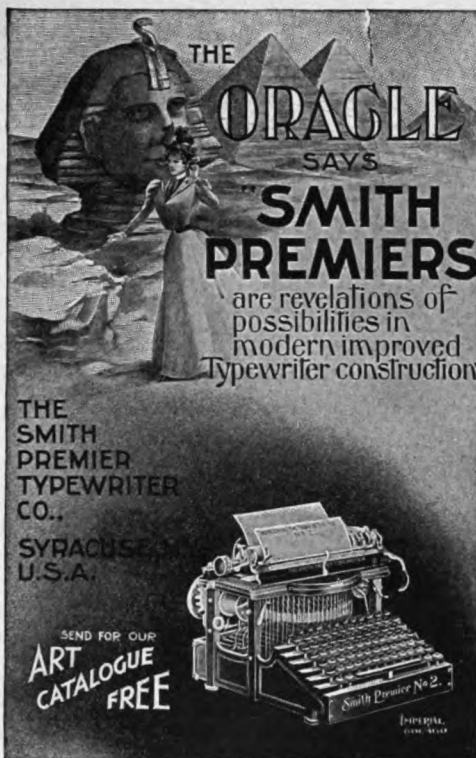
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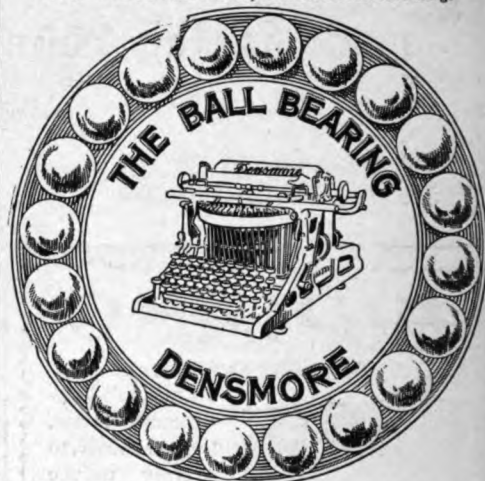
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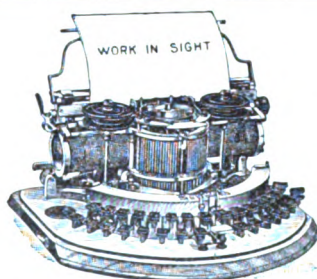
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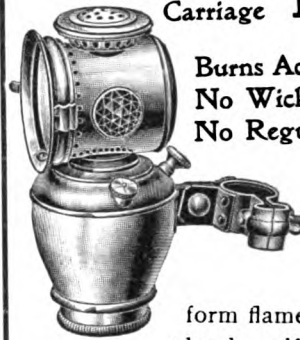
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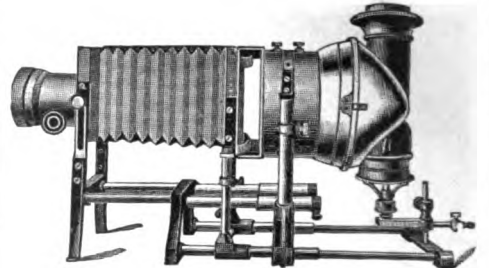


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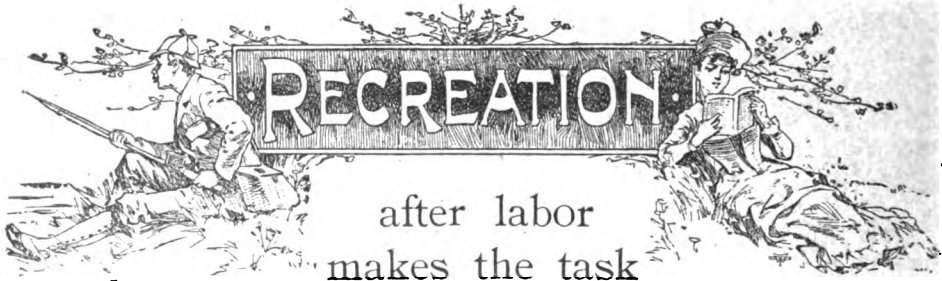
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